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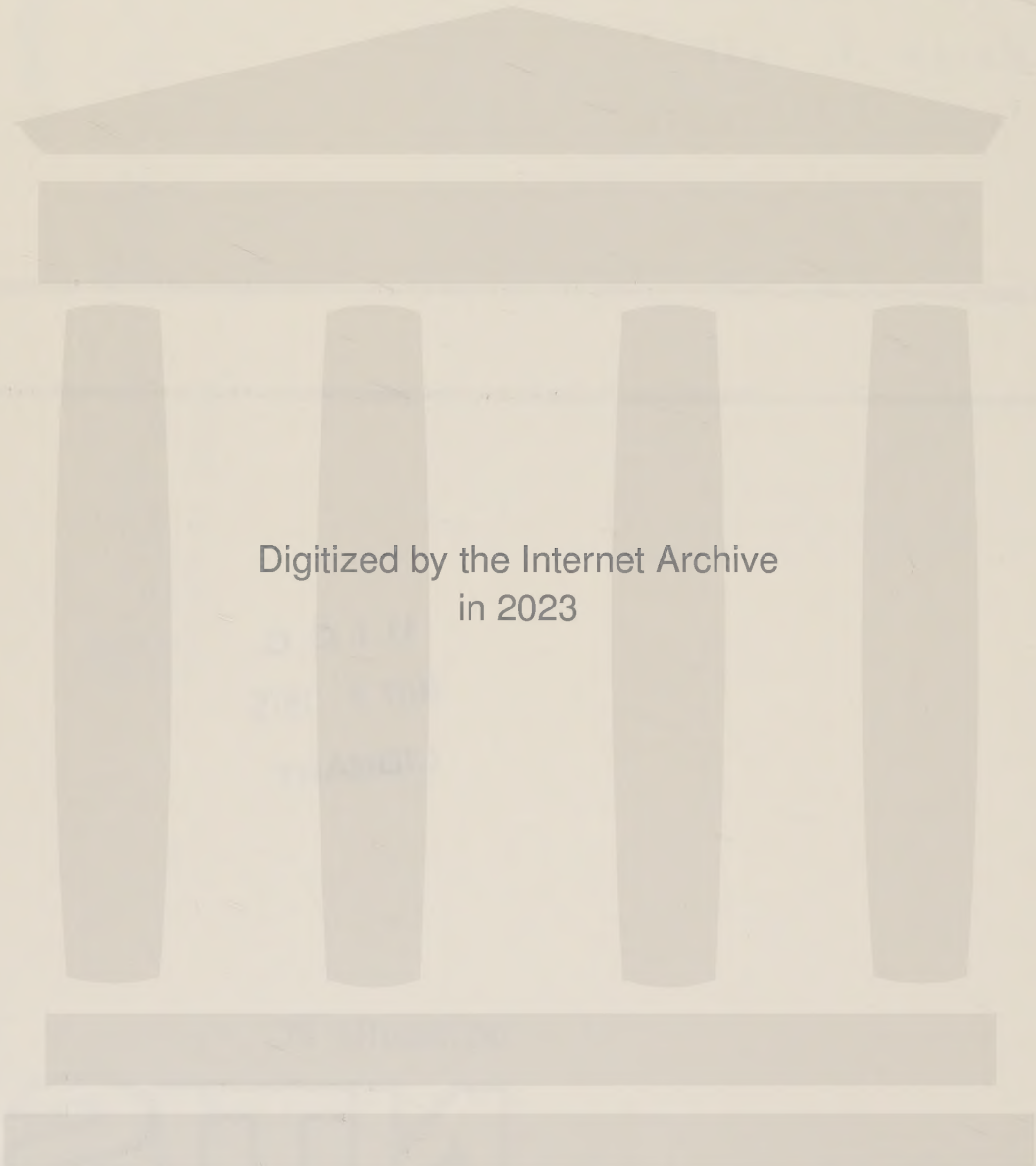

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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Guarantees for Strengthening Revolutionary Unity

- Some understanding from studying "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"

by

Fang Hai (方 海)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 2, February 10, 1975)

In "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Chairman Mao points out: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various nationalities--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." In the excellent situation when people of various nationalities are enthusiastically responding to the militant calls of the 4th National People's Congress and are closely united in continuing the struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, study of this instruction from Chairman Mao particularly warms our heart.

The strengthening of the unity of people of all nationalities throughout the country is an important part of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we have since the great proletarian cultural revolution relied on revolutionary mass unity to crush the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and strengthened and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat. To develop and consolidate the achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must continue to promote socialist revolution and construction. While continuing to intensify the great struggle to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we must also further consolidate and strengthen the revolutionary great unity of the whole Party and the people of the whole country and unite with all the forces that can be united with in order to serve the great cause of socialist revolution and construction.

To unite with all the forces that can be united with, it is necessary to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's theory on the two different types of social contradictions. In our country, there are two entirely different types of social contradictions--the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and the contradictions among the people must be resolved by different methods. To put it briefly, the former are a matter of drawing a clear distinction between ourselves and the enemy, and the latter a matter of drawing a clear distinction between right and wrong." The contradictions between ourselves and the enemy are antagonistic in nature and represent the oppression of one class by another. The contradictions among the people are non-antagonistic so that it is entirely possible for the people to unite against the enemy. Therefore, in order to strengthen revolutionary

unity, the first task is for us to draw a clear distinction between the enemy and ourselves. "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." If we cannot distinguish between ourselves and the enemy and treat the enemy as our friends, or our friends as enemy, the interests of the broad masses of people will suffer. Under such circumstances, there would not be a lively political situation with revolutionary unity. In the modern revolutionary Peking opera "Azalea Mountain," if Lei Kang had indiscriminately used his shoulder pole to beat up the hired hand T'ien Ta-chiang, he would have driven "millions upon millions" and "mighty contingents" over to the enemy's side, like "driving fish back to the sea and birds back to the forest." K'o Hsiang knew that Lei Kang must not do this and, therefore, she educated him in the Party's policy and told him the truth about the need for revolutionaries to be able to distinguish between the enemy and ourselves and unite with the masses while striking at the enemy at all times and in all places. Thus she correctly distinguished between the two different types of contradictions, united with the revolutionary masses, and won the victory in the revolutionary struggle. This is of great educational significance to us today.

In essence, strengthening revolutionary unity involves the question of how to correctly handle the contradictions among the people on the basis of strictly distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions. Chairman Mao points out: "In the conditions existing in China today what we call contradictions among the people include the following: contradictions within the working class, contradictions within the peasantry, contradictions within the intelligentsia, contradictions between the working class and the peasantry, contradictions between the working class and peasantry on the one hand and the intelligentsia on the other, contradictions between the working class and other sections of the working people on the one hand and the national bourgeoisie on the other, contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and so forth." The working class is the most advanced class in the history of mankind, a leading force in the proletarian revolution. The basic interest of the working class determines that this class is able to unite as one and form an invincible militant body. This is the basic aspect of the working class. However, as long as classes and class struggle still exist, this kind of struggle will inevitably be reflected in the working-class ranks, and contradictions and struggles of one kind or another will inevitably appear among the workers. Different strata exist within the peasantry, and the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are the most reliable allies of the proletariat. They are willing to rally around the proletariat and the Communist Party and follow the socialist path. However, well-to-do peasants have serious spontaneous capitalist tendencies. Contradictions inevitably appear between the workers and peasants and between the workers and peasants on the one hand and the intelligentsia on the other, because there are still gaps between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual laborers. In our socialist country under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we exercise dictatorship over

the bourgeoisie. But as the national bourgeoisie in our country has a dual character, being capable of accepting socialist transformation, the contradictions between the working class and the national bourgeoisie can be handled as contradictions among the people. Under certain conditions, when these contradictions become intensified, they, as non-antagonistic contradictions, may possibly change into antagonistic ones. Among the various contradictions among the people, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, is the main contradiction in our society at present. Generally speaking, all the other contradictions among the people are restricted by this main contradiction. The existence and development of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, determine and affect the existence and development of other contradictions. While the proletariat must lead and unite the vast masses of people to take the socialist road, all the overthrown exploiting classes and their agents within the Party attempt to drag people onto the path of capitalism. For more than 20 years since liberation, all major struggles in China have invariably centered on the question of whether to take the socialist or the capitalist road.

"The line is the key link; once it is grasped, everything falls into place." To correctly handle the contradictions among the people and unite with all the forces that can be united with, we must firmly adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, hold fast to the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of socialism, and grasp class struggle and the struggle between the two lines as the key link. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is the basis for strengthening revolutionary unity. Only under the guidance of this revolutionary line can we correctly handle the various contradictions among the people and can we enable the vast revolutionary masses to unite under the common goal of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With regard to ideological problems among the people, we must not settle them by coercive means, still less handle them without analysis. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The only way to settle questions of an ideological nature or controversial issues among the people is by the democratic method, the method of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education." Such democratic methods of handling contradictions among the people have been our Party's fine traditions. Our Party has always maintained that correctly handling contradictions among the people means seeking truth from facts and adhering to the mass line, developing democracy to a great extent, being good at consulting with the masses on matters of common concern, and solving problems by methods of rectification, criticism and education. Our Party has always used these methods in handling relations between the Party and the masses, between leaders and the masses, between armymen and civilians, between officers and men, and among the people. In summing up the experience of our Party's rectification campaign in 1942, Chairman Mao crystallized such democratic methods of solving contradictions both within the Party and among the people in a formula called "unity--

criticism--unity." This means that proceeding from the desire for unity and through criticism or struggle, we can distinguish right from wrong, settle the contradictions, and arrive at new unity on a new basis. After the 1942 rectification campaign, we set out from Yenan for the theaters of war throughout the country, and with the whole Party's united efforts, won the countrywide victory. By the period of socialist revolution, our Party's democratic traditions have developed considerably. In the course of struggle, the masses created new forms of socialist revolution--big airing of views, big contending, big debate and big-character posters. By using these forms our Party not only fully displayed socialist democracy, settled questions of right and wrong among the people and correctly handled the contradictions among the people, but also settled the major issues of right and wrong. During the rectification campaign and anti-Rightist struggle in 1957, our Party applied these forms of socialist democracy and not only successfully exposed and resolved the various contradictions among the people and enhanced revolutionary unit but also exposed and criticized the bourgeois Rightists and won great victories in the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, by fully promoting democracy, our Party ferreted out such bourgeois agents within our Party as Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, and, through sustained and penetrating criticism against them, settled the question of whether to take the socialist road or the capitalist road. It must be pointed out that our purpose in developing democracy is to consolidate the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party over the state as well as consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Big airing of views, big contending, big debate and big-character posters must serve this purpose. No class enemy shall be allowed to use these means to pass off fish eyes for pearls or plunder the house when it is on fire or to vent his personal grudges and satisfy his private ends. Democracy and centralism are a unity of opposites. Only when the relationship between the two is correctly understood in its entirety can there be a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

Chairman Mao points out: "In ordinary circumstances, contradictions among the people are not antagonistic. But if they are not handled properly, or if we relax our vigilance and lower our guard, antagonism may arise." The class enemies have always used the contradictions among the people to sow discord and dissension among the people and to stir up trouble. Against this we must heighten our vigilance; at the same time, through meticulous work, we must handle the contradictions among the people appropriately. Whether the contradictions among the people are properly handled or not depends basically on whether or not we can analyze these contradictions in the manner of seeking truth from facts and whether or not we can do things resolutely according to the Party's various proletarian policies. Only by analyzing the contradictions in the manner of seeking truth from facts can we apply different methods to handle and solve the contradictions and unite with all the forces that can be united in light of different circumstances. Our Party

formulates our various proletarian policies on the basis of analysis and differentiation. For example, in dealing with contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, we handle them by means of exercising dictatorship. But, while solving contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, we still have to make analysis and differentiate them, and carry out Chairman Mao's teaching "Make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one." As for the contradictions among the people, we must handle them with the desire to achieve unity. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Now, the enemies have been completely isolated. However, the isolation of the enemy does not mean our victory. If we commit mistakes in policy, we still cannot win the victory." Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, we have correctly handled the two different types of contradictions, implemented the Party's various proletarian policies, united with the vast majority, isolated the enemies, and won tremendous victories in our revolutionary struggle. Today, in the favorable revolutionary situation, we still must continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, conscientiously carry out the Party's various proletarian policies, and incessantly develop the favorable revolutionary situation.

To distinguish between the two types of contradictions in society and to correctly handle the contradictions among the people--this is the basis of Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is an important component part of his proletarian revolutionary line. Only by paying attention to this can we bring into full play all positive factors, unite with all the forces that can be united, and carry out the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in every unit. The revolution is developing, and the struggle is deepening. The great struggle for socialist revolution and socialist construction requires us to strengthen revolutionary unity, and unity is for winning still greater victories. We must keep in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "Unite to win still greater victories," closely unite as one under the guidance of his revolutionary line, actively fulfill the militant tasks put forward by the 4th National People's Congress, further consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and win new and still greater victories for the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction.

* * *

"The State and Revolution" and the Renegade Bukharin

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 10, 1975)

"The State and Revolution" concentrates the quintessence of Lenin's theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat. A conscientious study of this brilliant work is of vital current significance for us today in comprehending the spirit of the documents of the 4th National People's Congress, in seriously carrying out and bravely defending the new Constitution, and in firmly continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All states should be abolished or else the bourgeois state should be defended--these were two fallacies advanced by the revisionists at a time when Lenin was writing "The State and Revolution." The former fallacy was represented by Bukharin, the "theorist" hidden in the Russian Party, and the latter by Kautsky, the "theorist" of the Second International. In 1916, at a crucial moment when the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat was about to become a great practice of the Russian proletariat, the question of whether it was necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat was brought to the fore. At that time, Bukharin was the first to come forward and said that the working class should in principle be hostile to all states, including that of the working class, thus audaciously opposing the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. On reading Bukharin's writings, Lenin pointed out sharply: Bukharin, who had "climbed onto the press," "not only did not expose the Kautskyites but helped them with his own errors." Hitting the nail on the head, this pointed to the fact that Bukharin and Kautsky were jackals of the same lair whose aim was to defend the state of bourgeois dictatorship and to oppose the setting up of a state of proletarian dictatorship. Lenin indicated that he would devote himself to writing an essay to elucidate the Marxist theory of the state. It was in the midst of this struggle against revisionism that "The State and Revolution" was born.

After the overthrow of the capitalist system, the proletariat would be faced with a period of transition from capitalism to communism. "In reality, this period inevitably is a period of an unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms." Under such circumstances, to play up the theme that the proletariat does not need any dictatorship or any state can only help the bourgeoisie to turn around and defeat the proletariat and restore the bourgeois dictatorship.

Throughout the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. In 1918, the same year "The State and Revolution" was published, Lenin pointed out: "The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise." Socialist society is a society marked not only by growing communism but also by decaying capitalism. In these circumstances, the bourgeoisie will exist for a long time objectively, and a new bourgeoisie may arise. This is a fact. In negating the dictatorship of the proletariat, every revisionist invariably will first negate this fact. Bukharin was the mastermind behind the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated under the dictatorship of the proletariat. After he was criticized by Lenin in 1916 and by 1918 when "The State and Revolution" was published, he transformed himself and began to write in praise of this work by Lenin. Did he really change his mind? Certainly not. Seeing through him at first glance, Lenin pointed out sternly: Bukharin's "commentaries essentially reveal a most pitiful and noteworthy fact: When studying the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Bukharin looks back toward the past and not forward to the future." Furthermore, Lenin elaborated on the class struggle and the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union at that time and exposed Bukharin's plot in "maintaining silence" on these tasks.

In socialist society, it is impossible for the proletariat to create overnight conditions in which the bourgeoisie can neither exist nor re-appear, but "an entire historical period" is required. Since socialist society emerges from the womb of capitalist society, it bears capitalist birthmarks economically, morally and intellectually. This is a condition on which the bourgeoisie depends for existence or for re-emergence. If the proletariat does not regard the dictatorship of the proletariat as "an entire historical period" but stops halfway, these capitalist birthmarks will develop into fertile soil for capitalism, leading to capitalist restoration. With a view to further expounding the protracted nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, particularly when "The State and Revolution" was re-published in 1918, Lenin summed up more than a year of experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union and added the third section to the second chapter. This was an extremely important section. In it, he severely criticized the fallacy that negated the existence of class struggle throughout the socialist society and hence the dictatorship of the proletariat. He pointed out: "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie." He added: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general,

not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism." However, in 1920, not long after Lenin said this, Bukharin tossed out "The Economy of the Transitional Period," in which he vigorously called for the "abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Lenin angrily pointed out that when Bukharin talked volubly about its "abolition" at a time when the dictatorship of the proletariat had just been established, he in fact "confuses the 'process' of life with the 'process' of death of man," and this was nothing but "folly" of a "pedant." By agitating for the "abolition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Bukharin actually attempted to dissolve the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

When socialist ownership of the means of production is established and socialist planned economy is introduced under the conditions of proletarian dictatorship, does it mean that no soil at all is left for capitalism. To this question there are two different answers. Bukharin contended: If only organized socialist planned economy is established, "all basic 'questions' of political economy will have disappeared." Giving a completely different answer, Lenin pointed out: "Since the means of production has become public property, then the term 'communism' may also apply here--provided we do not forget that this is still incomplete communism." In socialist society, "communism still cannot attain full economic maturity, nor can it free itself entirely from capitalist traditions or birthmarks." The existence of commodity and monetary relationships, the existence of bourgeois rights in respect to distribution of articles of consumption, and the existence of capitalist traditions or birthmarks can, under given conditions, provide the soil from which new bourgeois elements may arise. "When money and exchanges have not been eliminated, you cannot escape from this fact. To eliminate money and exchanges will require years of steady rule by the proletariat for it alone can vanquish the bourgeoisie."

To keep to the dictatorship of the proletariat, strategically it is always necessary to launch a full-scale attack on the bourgeoisie, instead of putting up passive defense against it. Lenin made it very clear: "It must be recognized that the bourgeoisie invariably and most hypocritically regard socialism as something ossified, frozen and changeless." After the October Revolution, the proletariat, having expropriated the urban bourgeoisie, was confronted with the question of whether there was the need to continue to wage an attack against the rural bourgeoisie--the rich peasants. Lenin called for "relentlessly opening fire on these rich peasants! Destroy them!" Carrying out Lenin's line, Stalin set in motion in the rural areas a collectivization movement aimed at destroying the rich peasants. At this time, Bukharin again came forward to speak for the rich peasants, arguing that they or even the capitalists might "grow into socialism peacefully." "To abolish classes through ruthless class struggle by the proletariat--this is Lenin's formula. To abolish classes through the dying out of class struggle and the growth of capitalism into socialism--this is Bukharin's formula." As put forth by Bukharin, the theory of the dying out of class struggle was a weapon used by the

revisionists to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat under the conditions of this dictatorship. Khrushchev and Brezhnev made use of this weapon, and Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao did the same thing. Using this junk, they launched a wild attack against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In "The State and Revolution," Lenin said: "To develop forward, namely, to develop toward communism, it is necessary to go through the dictatorship of the proletariat, there being no other alternative." Under the present excellent situation, a study of this shining work "The State and Revolution" and a backward look at the history of the struggle between the two lines on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has increased our determination and confidence in continuing the revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must firmly bear in mind the historical experience, continue to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and win still greater victories in socialist revolution!

* * *

Grasp Theory of Continuing Revolution Under the Dictatorship of Proletariat

- Some understanding from the study of "The State and Revolution"

by

Hsing Pin (辛 彬)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 10, 1975)

In "The State and Revolution," an important Marxist work on the theory of the state, Lenin systematically and concisely expounded the question pertaining to the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the new Constitution recently adopted by the 4th National People's Congress, it is solemnly pointed out: "We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that our great motherland will always advance along the road indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought." In response to this call, we must study hard Lenin's "The State and Revolution" and comprehend the Marxist theory of the state and the thesis of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin wrote "The State and Revolution" on the eve of the outbreak of the October Revolution. Drawing lessons from the betrayal of Marxism by opportunists of the Second International following the death of Marx and Engels, such as Bernstein, Kautsky and Plekhanov, and on the basis of the theory for the transition period expounded by Marx in his Critique of the Gotha Program, Lenin summed up the new experience gained by the revolutionary masses of the proletariat since the Revolution of 1905 and the February Revolution of 1917 in Russia. He stressed the need for a new type of dictatorship in the transition period, that is, the state of the proletarian dictatorship, thereby enriching and evolving theories of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. With foresight, Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of a class is not only necessary for class society of a general nature as well as for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, it is equally necessary for the entire historical period lying between capitalism and 'classless society', communism. Only those who understand this will comprehend the essence of Marx's thesis of the state." This exposition of Lenin's applied the Marxist theory of class struggle to an analysis of the basic contradictions in society in the transition period and further enunciated the need for adhering to the proletarian dictatorship for the entire period of transition. This is a substantiation of the Marxist viewpoint.

In "The State and Revolution" Lenin clearly pointed out: "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to communism,

to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie. In reality, this period inevitably is a period of unprecedentedly violent class struggle in unprecedentedly acute forms." With this as the point of departure, Lenin emphasized the necessity of establishing and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Following the victory of the October Revolution and under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship, there existed in Soviet society acute and fierce class struggle, including suppression of rebellion during the domestic revolutionary war and the massive and bloody class struggle for the smashing of the armed imperialist intervention from outside. It also included the acute and complex struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the political, economic and ideological spheres. After summing up the practical experience of the October Revolution and subsequent class struggles, Lenin elevated to a new stage the theories he had expounded in "The State and Revolution," thereby significantly enriching the theses enunciated in "The State and Revolution" concerning the existence of classes and class struggle in the transition period. The transition from capitalism to communism, Lenin pointed out, "cannot but be the struggle between the withering of capitalism and growing communism, representing, in other words, the period of struggle between capitalism that has been defeated but not altogether wiped out and communism that has emerged but is still very fragile." The struggle between two social systems manifests itself in class relations, that is, class struggle between antagonistic classes. Although politically the landlord and bourgeois classes have been overthrown, as a class by itself they continue to exist, having access to considerable advantage in the political, economic and cultural spheres over a fairly long period. "The seizure of political power by the proletariat has not brought to an end the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie but instead has broadened this struggle and rendered it more acute and more ruthless." The class enemies will not reconcile themselves to their own defeat. Instead, they will plunge themselves into the new battle with tenfold efforts and a hundredfold resentment so as to regain their lost "paradise" and achieve a capitalist restoration. Lenin pointed out incisively: "The transition from capitalism to communism encompasses the entire historical epoch. As long as this era is not concluded the exploiters will be hopeful of a restoration and turn such hopes into restoration acts." In a word, class struggle is not over in the transition period; instead, it has become more acute and more penetrating. This struggle has found concentrated expression in the struggle between bourgeois restoration and proletarian counter-restoration.

Proceeding from the objective facts concerning the existence of classes and class struggle throughout the entire historical period of socialism, Lenin had repeatedly emphasized the need to adhere to the proletarian dictatorship in the transition period. In "The State and Revolution," he clearly pointed out: "Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists." "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." In order to crush the resistance of the

overthrown exploiting classes and smash their restoration attempts and actions until all manifestations of exploitation of man by man are finally removed, the proletariat holding the political power of the state, in Lenin's view, should neither stop their own class struggle nor overlook the role of the proletarian dictatorship in the class struggle during the transition period. "Pressing ahead, that is, striving forward toward communism must go through no other path than the proletarian dictatorship, because there is no other person nor another path that can crush the resistance of the exploiting capitalists." Here Lenin stressed the great historical mission of the proletarian dictatorship. The existence of violent struggle between restoration and counter-revolution during the socialist period determines the need to carry the revolution to completion after the proletariat has seized political power.

Lenin was soberly aware of the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration following the proletariat's seizure of political power. He pointed out on the eve of the October Revolution: "We do not know whether or not a temporary period of reaction will appear after our victory. Since a fleeting period of counter-revolutionary triumph is not impossible, after our victory we must dig 'three layers of trench' against this possibility." The struggle between restoration and counter-restoration will pervade the entire transition period, this being a long-term, repetitive and tortuous course of struggle. Domestic class struggle is always closely linked with class struggle on an international scale and "when the question involves class interests the bourgeoisie would collude with any foreigner, betray the people and sell out their fatherland." Both imperialism and social imperialism always do everything possible and employ every means to support the class enemies inside socialist countries. The sinister conspiracy of renegade and traitor Lin Piao in betraying the Party and the state has amply proved that under the condition of the proletarian dictatorship the class enemies at home and abroad invariably collaborate for the purpose of subverting the proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin also pointed out that the danger of capitalist restoration could arise from the armed disturbances of counter-revolutionary elements or from the spontaneous force of the petty bourgeoisie. In "The State and Revolution" he noted that socialist society,"arising from capitalism," "could not possibly have completely matured economically and could not have completely freed itself from capitalist traditions or traces." Owing to the existence in socialist society of feudal and capitalist traditions and habits and the remnants of private ownership as well as the existence of the spontaneous tendencies of capitalism, soil for capitalism has not been entirely removed. In view of the existence of bourgeois rights in distribution and exchange by means of money and the existence of the three major differences, the growth of capitalist forces and new bourgeois elements could be fostered if they are not correctly handled, restrained and regulated. One important task of the proletarian dictatorship is the use of the political power of the state to speed up the reform of the economic base and exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie while

educating and remolding the small producers and guiding them to unremittingly take the socialist road.

Apart from the contradiction that exists between the relations of production and the productive forces in socialist society, there also exists between the superstructure and its economic base conditions that are mutually compatible and mutually contradictory. The institutions and laws of socialist states, with Marxism-Leninism as the guiding socialist ideology, are compatible to the economic base of socialism. However, the existence of bourgeois ideology and certain bureaucratic styles of work in organs of the state as well as defects found among certain links of the state institutions run counter to the consolidation of the economic base of socialism. This determines the need for the proletariat to grasp revolution in the superstructure and to exercise total dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the ideological sphere. The great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius are great revolutionary movements of the Chinese proletariat to combat and prevent revisionism under the leadership of great leader Chairman Mao.

In the practice of leading China's socialist revolution, our great leader Chairman Mao has absorbed both positive and negative experiences and lessons from the international communist movement. He has inherited, defended and developed Marxist-Leninist theories of the state, pointing out that only by relying on the theory and practice of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat can class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period be resolved. He has thus laid down a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Socialist society encompasses a fairly long historical period. In this historical period of socialism, classes, class contradictions and class struggle still exist along with the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads and the danger of capitalist restoration. It is necessary to recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle and heighten our vigilance. It is essential to carry out socialist education, correctly understanding and handling the question of class contradictions and class struggle as well as correctly distinguishing and handling the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people themselves. Otherwise, our socialist state will turn back, degenerate and become ripe for restoration. From now on we must discuss this question year after year, month after month and day after day so we will be soberly conscious of it and have a Marxist-leninist line."

This basic line laid down by Chairman Mao provides us with reliable guarantees in persisting in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the lifeline of our Party and our state. The great victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius have been won under the guidance of this basic line. The correctness and great power of this line have been verified by practice.

By studying Lenin's "The State and Revolution" we can see the course of historical development in respect of the Marxist-Leninist theories of the state and more deeply comprehend Chairman Mao's thesis on the continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship as a continuation and development of the Marxist theory of the state. "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." The basic line formulated by Chairman Mao represents the fundamental interests of the people of the whole country and gives concentrated expression to the desire of our people to adhere to the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao focused on the point of whether to keep to or alter this basic line, which was reaffirmed at the 9th and 10th Party Congresses. The new Constitution adopted by the 4th National People's Congress is based on the Party's basic line laid down by Chairman Mao. This is fraught with far-reaching historical and important practical significance. Let us warmly respond to the great call of the 4th National People's Congress, resolutely carry out the Party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism and carry the continued revolution under the proletarian dictatorship to its completion.

* * *

Step Up Building of Workers' Theoretical Contingent

by

Party General Branch Committee, Second Workshop, No. 5
Shanghai Steel Mill

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 2, February 10, 1975)

Since the beginning of the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our workshop has taken on a fresh blooming revolutionary look. The broad masses are vigorously studying the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Armed with the sharp weapon of Marxism, they are carrying out mass criticism drives against the reactionary program of Lin Piao and Confucius in "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," and absurd doctrines of all the chieftains of opportunist lines in the past that advocate worship of Confucius. In criticizing and annotating "the Confucian Analects" and the "Three-Character Classics," they are studying the history of struggle between Confucianism and Legalism and the history of class struggle as a whole. From criticizing Confucian works to annotating the works of Legalists, they have fought many battles without let-up in the realm of ideology, thereby greatly raising their political awareness in class and line struggles.

The revolutionary mass movement is a great school. The workers' theoretical contingent of our workshop is growing stronger and stronger in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius. When this contingent was first set up in 1972, there were only six members. Today, it has 105 theorists. They are distributed among the various sections and groups of the workshop, where they study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao together with the masses, and guide the latter to read the original works and classical literature. In the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, they are the ones who started the criticism against "the Confucian Analects," the canon of the Confucians, raising the slogan: "Resolutely trample down the sinister 'Analects'." Subsequent to the criticism of selected chapters of "Confucian Analects" and the "Three-Character Classics," they began to write a series of articles, among which were: "Collection of Criticisms of Revere-Confucianism Speeches by Revisionist-Line Chieftains within the Party," "Brief History of Confucian-Legalist Struggle," "Collected Stories of the Working People's Struggles against Confucianism" and "New Notes on Han Fei Tzu." They have indeed done a lot of work in this respect. Recently, in the course of studying the documents of the 4th National People's Congress, they are studying the Marxist theory on the state in order to get a deeper understanding of the basic significance of the new Constitution. They are at once steel-makers and Marxist writers. The broad masses of the workers are all very pleased to see the rapid growth of this new emerging force in struggle, and praise the theorists as "vanguards in the criticism of Lin and Confucius, the backbone of our group, and pathbreakers in the battle for steel."

Now that a workers' contingent of theorists has been established, what should be done to make it grow and develop well? Chairman Mao teaches us that whatever we do we must grasp the right direction. "If the direction is wrong, no amount of knowledge, however great, is useful." This means that in guiding the work of the contingent of theorists, our Party organization should first of all grasp the correct political direction, urge them to study in the interest of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and to fight to safeguard Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Eighty percent of our theorists are young workers, many of whom joined the factory as students since the great proletarian cultural revolution was started. They are full of vigor and drive, and are eager to learn. But, after all, these youths have been in the factory for a comparatively short time and still need to be re-educated by the working class in order to form the proletarian world outlook. Even the old workers themselves have the same need to continue to raise their own political consciousness. Like all other new emerging things, the workers' theorist contingent in its growth is bound to meet the attack of the old ideas and ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. Our responsibility is to take special care of the new emerging buds growing out from beneath the shattered pieces of the old grounds which have not been cleared completely. Therefore, together with our theorists, we often study Chairman Mao's instructions such as "We do not study Marxism-Leninism merely to impress others or because it is mysterious. We study Marxism-Leninism for the simple reason that it is a science that guides the proletarian revolutionary cause to victory." We have encouraged them to study theory for the revolution and overcome such bad tendencies as "seeking publicity instead of taking root in the groups" and "seeking fame and glory instead of ways of making study and criticism develop in depth." This way, we helped them to constantly study Marxism and observe and analyze things from the basic Marxist viewpoint in actual struggle. In revealing the shortcomings of the Party general branch, some people described new Party members who were recruited since the cultural revolution as "obedient" "little lambs" or "old goats." The comrades in our theory study groups argued that we must persist in analyzing things and prevent one tendency from covering up another. In their short commentaries they pointed out: In viewing a problem we should distinguish the main stream from the side current. Most of the new Party members recruited during the cultural revolution had done quite well in the struggle of the two lines, and to describe all of them as "sheep" was not only contrary to facts, but also detrimental to our unity. As to "obedience," this, too, must be put to class analysis. We must find out which class they are obedient to, and no one should be accused without regard to facts.

The masses of workers in our workshop constantly urge the theorists to establish close ties with the masses, take root in the groups and fight together with the masses of workers forever. The worker masses are the main force of the criticism campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius, and the workers' contingent of theorists is the vanguard of this main force. Once it divorces itself from the main force, the vanguard will lose its fighting

capacity and cannot give full scope to its role in the two-line struggle. With the constant deepening of the movement to criticize Lin and Confucius, the burden on the worker theorists grows heavier and heavier, and there is a tendency among some of the comrades in this contingent to divorce themselves from production for a long time so as to be able to devote themselves to studying and writing. In these circumstances a most vital question arises: Is it possible for the workers' contingent of theorists to persist in combining their study and criticism with those of the broad masses? On the one hand, we must provide the theorist contingent with all the necessary conditions they actually need for carrying on their study, and arrange for them to study together one day per week and to exchange their experiences and thoughts on study. On the other hand, we have also insisted on their joining the masses in study and criticism in groups. The theorists should set their tasks mainly according to the needs of the masses in groups. For instance, during the past few months the raw material section of our workshop has been carrying on repeated and penetrating criticism of the "Three-Character Classics." First, they concentrated their attack on the main points of the issue and by combining this with the bitter history of the laboring masses in the old society, exposed the reactionary essence of the Confucian-Mencian doctrines. Next, they combined their criticism with the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle. Recently they have studied and used the basic viewpoints presented in Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" in their criticism. This way, they have succeeded in developing their criticisms in greater depth. One of the important reasons for their success is that they have persisted in coming from the masses and going back to the masses, and that by taking root in the groups, they have merged with the masses. The comrades in our theorist contingent are expected to persevere not only in productive labor but also in a lot of activities in their spare time. They indeed live a relatively hard life. But it is precisely because of this that they have won the praise of the rank and file. Many workers voluntarily help them collect data and support their work. Old workers also often tell them stories about their families and their experiences in class struggle so as to help them combine theory with practice more properly. All this has made study and criticism in the entire workshop more vigorous and lively.

The workers' contingent of theorists is an army fighting on the political and ideological front of the proletariat, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought is the sole weapon for this army. We must foster a workers' theorist contingent that can fight for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and to do this the most fundamental way is to guide them to seriously study the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and to learn how to apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method in correctly analyzing history and the present state of affairs. At first, some of our comrades in the theory study groups had difficulty in their research and lectures on the history of the Confucian-Legalist struggle as they lacked the ability to analyze and were sometimes one-sided in their opinions. In their appraisals of the progressive role of the Legalists, they often departed from the basic viewpoint that history was made by the laboring people. On the other hand, in emphasizing the working people's role in creating history,

they were apt to forget the progressive role of the Legalists. Our comrades in the workers' theorist contingent are all very eager and determined to reverse the reversal of history. But many of them are not well versed in the theory of Marxism and they lack a strong capacity to criticize or analyze concrete events or figures in history. "Our struggle needs Marxism." Everyone says: "Without the aid of special glasses in steel refining, one cannot distinguish steel from dregs; without studying Marxism, our theory fighters cannot distinguish the real from the false." The deeper the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius develops, the greater the need to study harder. Therefore, we have to direct our main efforts toward getting the theorist contingent to grasp study and criticism from beginning to end. In criticizing selected chapters from "Confucian Analects," comrades of the theory study groups seriously studied "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," "Dialectical Materialism and Historical Materialism" and other works of Marx and Lenin on the slave society and applied what they learned to analyze the class struggle in Confucius' time toward the end of the Spring and Autumn Period. At the same time they carefully studied Chairman Mao's statements on criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius in order to use them as an ideological weapon to criticize and annotate the "Confucian Analects." In the course of their activities, everybody realized that things differed greatly whether one studied theory or not and whether one had a deep understanding of what one had learned. The answer might also affect the training of the theorist contingent. Deep-going criticism can only be obtained through serious theoretical study. Today, the theory study groups have raised their consciousness in studying the works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao. Generally, everyone has read all the four volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and over ten Marxist-Leninist works, and this has helped further enhance the enthusiasm of the masses of the entire workshop in study.

Intensifying the building of the worker's theorist contingent is a matter of fundamental importance. Chairman Mao says: "It will still take a long time to decide whether socialism or capitalism will win the struggle in the ideological sphere." The needs of such struggle cannot be met without having a theorist contingent of the working class itself. To continuously consolidate and improve the workers' theorist contingent, we need to keep up our untiring efforts. We must continue to carry on the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius well, strive to enable the workers' theorist contingent to grow and develop healthily along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and insure that the working class will firmly occupy all the positions in the superstructure and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

* * *

Comment on the Huaihsi Victory

- read "Li Su, Old History of T'ang"

by

Lo Szu-ting (罗思鼎)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 2, February 10, 1975)

In 817 A.D., Li Su, a famous general of the T'ang Dynasty, led his troops in a surprise attack on Tsaichou city and captured alive Wu Yüan-chi, chieftain of a separatist vassal force in Huaihsi. This was the well-known Huaihsi campaign in history. Shortly after the fighting ended, Liu Yü-hsi,* a Legalist poet, warmly hailed this victory in these inspiring lines:

"Inside Tsaichou city everyone was in despair,
When the descending evil star was reflected in the trench water.
Suddenly a Han general came out of nowhere.
The gates opened at the crack of his whip,
The bandits became panicky and knelt before his banners,
Like so many insects frightened by the spring thunder."(1)

Li Su, alias Yüan-chih, was a native of Lintan in Taochou. He was a military general with Legalist leanings. Since mid-T'ang Dynasty, the struggle between unification or division, between the reform and the conservative lines was very fierce. The cause of the political disorder at that time was the "separatist movements in outlying regions."(2) Huaihsi (now the southeastern part of Honan) was close to the capital, Changan, and the warlord Wu Shao-yang and his son Wu Yüan-chi had spent many years there building up their forces which for a time seemed quite formidable. Their "arrogance was irresistible."(3) This was a serious threat to the Central government. Then "in the 12th year of Yuanho, the peace of the Tienpao years was seen again."(4) Li Su pacified Huaihsi with a single expedition and made a great contribution to opposing the separatist movement in border areas and preserving the unity of the country.

I

Outwardly the Huaihsi victory was a success achieved quickly and easily, but the fact was not so. The T'ang Dynasty's military operations against the Huaihsi separatist forces began as early as in October of the ninth year of Yuanho (814) under T'ang Hsien Tsung. At that time the military commander of Huaihsi, Wu Shao-yang, had already died and his son Wu Yüan-chi, withholding the news of his father's death, commanded the army himself and intended to rebel. The central authorities ordered the armies of various districts to attack Huaihsi, but years of military operations proved fruitless. Commanders were changed, but they all went down

* See also "On Liu Yü-hsi's Political Poems" in Hung-ch'i, No. 2, SPRCM No. 811, Mar. 3, 1975.

in defeat. It was not until December of the 11th year of Yuanho, when Li Su headed the front command in the Huaihsi campaign, that the unfavorable situation was gradually reversed.

Why were such serious defeats sustained in the early stages of the Huaihsi campaign? The basic reason was that the commanders carried out a wrong line and executed wrong policies. For example, take Yen Shou, the first commander. Yen belonged to a faction opposing the Yungchen reform and was a representative of the separatist forces in the central government. Although a large number of troops from eight chou were under his command to deal with the forces in the three chou of Huaihsi, he "kept himself indoors for years and failed to achieve any success in military operations."(5) Yen's successor, Han Hung, was a warlord who "boasted of his military strength"(6) and who harbored "strange ambition,"(7) who basically was "unwilling to quell the Huaihsi rebellion immediately." Instead, he tried to "increase his own importance by letting the enemy continue to remain there"(8) and used the Huaihsi campaign as a means of realizing his personal political ambition. At the same time, generals in charge of the campaign such as Kao Hsia-yü and Yüan Tzu were all cowards. Although they were generals, they turned on their heels and quickly fled whenever the situation became unfavorable. Because the commanders were not the right persons, "discord occurred between officers and men,"(9) there was no unity, fighting spirit was very low, and morale was shaken. Under the influence of this splittist line and defeatist moods, defeats were natural.

When Li Su arrived at the Huaihsi battlefield, he was faced with the situation in which "the fighters' morale was low after defeat."(10) To win the war, it would be necessary first to change the state of lax military discipline. But due to the evil consequences created by the previous commanders and generals, the relations between officers and men were extremely strained. But any rash action would bring undesirable results. Hence, Li Su did not make haste to "tighten up military discipline" or "put the ranks in order," but instead devoted his energy to wiping out the bad influence of his predecessors. He used to inspect the barracks and visit the troops frequently, "treated his army with sincerity," and opposed coercive measures, thus uniting the ranks and stabilizing the morale. As a result, among the troops on the Huaihsi front, "morale was heightened again and everyone was eager to fight."(11) At the same time, Li Su recruited local people and organized them into a new army. He also recruited 2,000 cavalrymen from the Hochung and Fufang areas. This new army strictly observed military discipline and fought bravely, playing a backbone role among the troops on the Huaihsi front. By adopting this series of measures, he finally changed the "weakness" of his troops and led them from defeat to victory.

At that time, the Huaihsi separatist forces headed by Wu Yüan-chi, pushing a splittist and regressive line, looked outwardly very powerful, but actually were weak and could not stand a single blow. They burned cities and slaughtered people everywhere and "levied exorbitant taxes on the people everyday,"(12) thus earning the hatred of the people. The multitudes in the Huaihsi area rose against the aggressive and plundering

activites of the Wu Yüan-chi clique. They "provided themselves with clothing and food and protected their own native places."(13) This fully reflected their dislike of division and desire to put an end to disorder. The Wu Yüan-chi clique itself was beset with contradictions, disputes and internal strife, and was described by some people at that time as "hard-pressed and hard-hit"(14) to depict the accelerating disintegration of Wu's reactionary clique.

But in order to speed up the disintegration and collapse of the enemy's citadel, it was also necessary to rely on a correct, flexible and firm policy. Li Su attached great importance to opening up a breach by taking advantage of the enemy's weak links. The general members of Wu's separatist clique, particularly those who were forced to join the separatist movement had conflicts more or less with the reactionary ring-leaders, and became the first target Li Su tried to win over. In February of the 12th year of Yuanho, a battle was fought between the T'ang army and the Wu army and a man named Ting Shih-liang was captured. This man was originally an army officer of the T'ang army. After he was captured when Wu's troops attacked and took Anchou, he served as a general officer in the Wu army. Li Su "interviewed him" in person, had heart-to-heart talks with him, and appointed him to be an officer.

Li Su not only paid serious attention to winning over the military officers in general within Wu's separatist group, but also did a great deal of work on the backbone elements of this group. Known as the "left arm" of Wu Yüan-chi,(15) Wu Hsiu-lin, an important general guarding the Wencheng palisade in Huaihsi, was forced to surrender when the T'ang army took the palisade by strategy. To speed up the disintegration of Wu's separatist group, Li Su conducted thorough and meticulous work to win over the backbone elements of the enemy army who had laid down their weapons. He "untied him personally" and talked to him. Wu Hsiu-lin was so "grateful" that he "pledged to render his service" to repay Li's kindness. In another battle, the T'ang army captured another important general, Li Yu, a "cavalry general" stationed at Hsinchia palisade. Li Su also "untied him and treated him as a guest." Moreover, Li frequently held long talks with him and even "lived together with him in the same room"(16) in an effort to learn as much as possible from him about the Huaihsi vassal state.

With regard to the diehards within Wu Yüan-chi's clique, Li Su went to great lengths to force them into abandoning their reactionary stand while mounting intensified attacks on the enemy. The surrender of Tung Chung-chih to the T'ang army was an outstanding example. Being a principal adviser to Wu Yüan-chi, Tung was one of the sworn members of the separatist group. However, everything transforms itself into its opposite under given conditions. When this diehard faced the danger of total collapse, Li Su seized the moment to launch a powerful political offensive by taking advantage of the situation where Tsaichou city could be taken at any time. Aside from sending someone to visit and comfort Tung's family, Li Su also sent someone with a personal message to see Tung, explaining to him the danger he faced. Confronted with tremendous military pressure

and meticulous political work to win him over, Tung had no other choice but to surrender. The surrender of one encouraged the others to follow suit, and Li Su's policy of different treatment according to different conditions hastened the swift disintegration of Wu's separatist group. "The strength of Wu's army was weakened with each passing day following frequent revolts" and "more and more bandits surrendered on the way."(17) Thus, Wu Yüan-chi, the reactionary chieftain, was isolated to the maximum.

One of the important reasons why Li Su was able to unite and win over large numbers of people who originally took the splittist line and make them change their stand was that he did not entangle himself with old historical issues but handled in a relatively proper way the contradictions existing among the different political factions within the landlord class, and encouraged the captives to turn around and atone for their sins with meritorious deeds. Li Yu, the surrendered general, was a backbone element in Wu's clique, having committed such serious crimes as "insulting government forces" and "massacring government forces."(18) When he was captured, the indignant officers and men loudly demanded that "he be executed." However, in the general interest of the conquest of Huaihsi, Li Su did some persuasive and admonitory work in his army, guiding his subordinates to take into consideration the general interest and not to act impulsively. At that time, he received many letters charging that Li Yu was an enemy agent and that this was confirmed by other captured enemy spies. Faced with these quarrelsome opinions, Li Su explained to Li Yu the reasons why he would rather be criticized than do the thing he could reasonably do. This enabled Li to recognize deeply his own crimes. On the other hand, Li Su took protective measures for him, shackling him and sending him to the capital. In the meantime, he submitted a memorial to the imperial court, explaining the importance of his work to win over enemy personnel and pointing out that "if Li Yu must be killed, there will be little chance of success!" Of course, there was a reason for Li Su to unite with Ting Shih-liang, Wu Hsiu-lin and Li Yu, and that was that he asked them to draw a clear demarcation line with the Huaihsi vassal forces headed by Wu Yüan-chi and to make contributions toward the cause of national unification. After coming over to Li Su, Ting Shih-liang, Wu Hsiu-lin and Li Yu proved their break with the splittist line headed by Wu Yüan-chi through their own practical actions. For example, the taking of the Wencheng palisade by strategy was based on a plan recommended by Ting Shih-liang, and the capture of Hsingchiao palisade was the result of information supplied by Wu Hsiu-lin. As for Li Yu, as a backbone element in Wu Yüan-chi's separatist clique, he knew the entire deployment of the Huaihsi forces as well as the palm of his hand. After he came over to Li Su, he told the latter that the crack troops of Huaihsi were concentrated in Huichu and suggested a direct attack against Tsaichou, which was weakly defended. In the surprise night-attack on Tsaichou during a snowstorm, Li Yu marched forward in the van and was the first to mount the battlements of the city wall and opened the city gate for the big army. He registered great merit. "The morning cocks are crowing over Junan, the sound of drums and horns are signalling peace."(19) The surprise attack on Tsaichou was a success, and Wu Yüan-chi was captured alive. In handling such a reactionary chieftain, there was no other way but to "send him to the capital in a cage" and punish him severely according to the law.

II

War is the continuation of politics, and "it cannot be separated from politics even for a moment." That Li Su was able to direct a drama full of sound and color on the battlefield in Huaihsi was, in the final analysis, because he was guided by the Legalist political line and was determined to serve it.

The Huaihsi victory was a victory for the Legalist line that stood for unification and opposed division. The power and prosperity of the T'ang Dynasty began to decline in the reign of Hsüan Tsung, who worshipped Confucius and admired Confucianism, and, following the An-shih revolt, there emerged a chaotic situation characterized by independent regimes of warlords. At that time there was a fierce polemic raging within the landlord class on the question of unification and division. Persisting in the Legalist line, the reformists defended unification of the country, while the conservatives, upholding the Confucian line, stood for dividing the country into independent domains. In 805 A.D., the first year of Yungchen in the reign of Shun Tsung, Wang Shu-wen, Liu Tsung-yüan, Liu Yü-hsi and other Legalist representatives launched the political reform movement which came to be known as the Yungchen reform. They proposed that steps should be taken "to restrain eunuchs internally and subdue strong military rulers externally"(20) in order to strengthen and safeguard national unification. The Yungchen reform failed under the joint opposition of the eunuchs' clique and vassals' clique, and Liu Tsung-yüan, Liu Yü-hsi and others were banished to remote frontier areas. But the struggle continued. In the years of Yuanho in the reign of Hsien Tsung, another fierce polemic centering on the question of whether or not to subdue the rulers of the frontier forts in Huaihsi broke out. Prime Minister Li Feng-chi and Wang Yai (the latter had taken part in suppressing the Yungchen reform), taking the conservative stand of the Confucian line, did everything they could "to prevent an attack on Tsaichou"(21) and on many occasions "petitioned for disbanding the expeditionary forces."(22) On the contrary, P'ei Tu, a sympathizer with the Yungchen reform, "took the suppression of the bandits as his duty"(23) and became the political leader of the faction that stood for war. After deeply analyzing the danger posed by the separatist forces in Huaihsi, P'ei Tu stressed that "the threat from Huaihsi must be removed," and noted that "there is no end to the rivalry among the recalcitrant separatist forces between the two rivers,"(24) which would certainly shake the foundation of the feudal state of centralized power. At that time Liu Tsung-yüan was also an active participant in the polemic. Long before this, when he was in Yungchou he had written the famous political treatise "On Feudalism," which theoretically summed up the controversies over the question of unification and division and the question of setting up vassal states or establishing prefectures and counties that had unfolded since Ch'in Shih Huang, and dealt a head-on blow to the reactionary trend of thought that advocated the restoration of the old, regression, and division. The result of the polemic was that T'ang Hsien Tsung dismissed a group of bureaucrats who obstructed the suppression of Huaihsi, and appointed P'ei Tu, leader of the faction that stood for war, as prime minister. Thus, the Legalist

line that stood for unification became dominant for a while in the imperial court. It was under these conditions that Li Su was given the important job and won the victory in the Huaihsi campaign. Li Su, a man who knew himself, correctly understood the importance of the leadership of the Legalist political line. Take his association with P'ei Tu for example. P'ei Tu was formerly only a fourth-grade officer. Because he advocated war, he was promoted to be prime minister and made the supreme commander of all military forces in Huaihsi. Li Su came from a family of great generals. His father, Li Kun, was installed as king of Hsip'ing prefecture and his official posts were as chief military commander and court official in charge of secret documents. Li Su himself used to serve in the Eastern Palace as an officer in charge of logistical affairs, and, as a result, he had good connections with the Royal House of T'ang. Li Su was higher than P'ei Tu in respect to family background, seniority and official title. But he showed great respect for P'ei Tu, because he took the interest of the whole into account in everything he did. After taking Tsaichou, Li Su did not show any arrogance at all. With a quiver of arrows slung across his shoulder, he respectfully stood by the roadside to welcome the arrival of P'ei Tu. When P'ei Tu indicated that he would not accept such a grand reception, Li Su earnestly explained that the reception was not intended for him personally but was intended to further establish the prestige of the central government. P'ei was deeply touched.

The Huaihsi victory was a victory of the Legalist line over the Confucian line in military affairs, and was bitterly resented by the Confucians. Before the flames of war over the Huaihsi battlefields had completely vanished, a hot debate over the various assessments of the results of the Huaihsi campaign broke out in the imperial court. The curtain-raiser of the debate was Han Yü's inscriptions on the "Monument Marking the Conquest of Huaihsi." As Minister of War who accompanied the expeditionary forces, Han Yü personally witnessed what had happened on the Huaihsi battlefields. However, in his inscriptions he made no mention of Li Su's meritorious deeds, except a brief reference in the preface. Instead, he attributed the success to the splittist Han Hung, and portrayed this defeated general as a heroic commander on the Huaihsi battlefields. Upon reading the inscriptions, Han Hung was so happy that he quickly wrote a letter of appreciation to Han Yü and sent him 500 rolls of silk as a gift. Greedy as he was, Han Yü, the orthodox Confucian, also knew that this gift was a hot potato. He submitted a memorial to Hsien Tsung, pretending to follow proper conduct, and did not accept the gift until royal approval for his acceptance was received. His vicious act of tampering with history aroused indignation among the officers and men who had fought in Huaihsi, and a death-defying general under Li Su's command, by the name of Shih Hsiao-chung, pulled the monument down. After investigations, Hsien Tsung finally ordered the monument crushed and the inscriptions thereon wiped out, and enjoined Tuan Wen-ch'ang, a Hanlin academician, to rewrite the inscriptions on the "Monument Marking the Conquest of Huaihsi."

Liu Tsung-yüan, Liu Yü-hsi and other Legalist representatives took a stand completely opposed to Han Yü's. They adopted the attitude of enthusiastically praising the Huaihsi war fought by Li Su and openly expressed their dissatisfaction over the inscriptions written by Han Yü. Li Tsung-yüan not only composed a long poem "Conquering Huaihsi" to praise P'ei Tu and Li Su, but also wrote a personal letter to Li Su expressing his determination to wage lifelong struggle to uphold the Legalist line. He said in his letter: "Though I have failed in my undertaking, my writings will never be influenced by the general trends of the world, because I think we should not belittle and conceal ourselves and see the way of the world further degenerating. If what I have done contributes a little in this respect, I will die without regret."(25) Here we can see that Liu Tsung-yüan regarded Li Su as an intimate friend and a Legalist character who shared the same ambition and purpose with him. Liu Yü-hsi, another Legalist representative, also wrote three poems under the title of "Conquering Tsaichou" and an article entitled "Congratulations on the Recovery of Tsaichou" vividly portraying the historical scene of "old men on the roadside recalling the past in tears and gratitude"(26) after the recovery of Tsaichou. Heroes are the products of their time, and men of ability emerge in struggles. A large number of Legalist representatives were created in the acute struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines in the mid-Tang Dynasty. Wang Shu-wen, P'ei Tu, Liu Tsung-yüan, Liu Yü-hsi and Li Su all made outstanding contributions toward defending and implementing the Legalist line in the political, ideological, literary and military fields. In history, Legalist representatives often emerged in groups during certain periods instead of existing alone. Representing the interests of the progressive classes or progressive political groups, they formed a Legalist camp advocating unification and reform and opposing division and regression while waging a common war against Confucianism and for Legalism. Surely, as representatives of the exploiting classes in history, they invariably bore the clear marks of their age and class in their ideology and action. We cannot demand too much from our predecessors.

This polemic swirling around the "Monument Marking the Conquest of Huaihsi" went on ceaselessly for a very long time. During the Sung Dynasty, the version of Han Yü's inscriptions on the "Monument Marking the Conquest of Huaihsi" came under criticism again, when Wang An-shih, a prominent representative of the Legalists, said it "sounded at best like an amusement piece of playful words, however witty they are."(27) By the Ming Dynasty, Li Chih also took the Legalist point of view and had some kind words about Li Su, saying that he possessed "a tremendous competence for knowledge."(28) Conversely, a poem said to be written by Su Shih, a Confucian of the Sung Dynasty, went all out to reverse the verdict on Han Yü. It read: "Outstanding among all in our T'ang Dynasty were the exploits performed at Huaihsi, so were the writings of the civil personnel minister (referring to Han Yü) that competed in brilliance with the sun and the moon; the elapse of a thousand years notwithstanding, that broken monument remains a palatable piece to people, for whom there never seemed to have existed a person named Tuan Wen-ch'ang."(29) The poem was highly recommended and relished by Chu Hsi, just to name one.

There was another Confucian named Chen Hsiang who went even further. He erased Tuan's inscriptions from the monument and engraved Han's version on it instead. How uncompromising indeed were the two schools--the Legalist and Confucian--in their distinctly different positions. The fact that this polemic went on for nearly a thousand years fully attests to the protracted, devious nature of the struggle on the ideological front. Today, when we are summing up the historical experiences of the struggle between the Confucian and the Legalist schools and of class struggle as a whole, we must give attention to this characteristic.

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(1) (4) (19) (26) -- "Conquering Tsaichou," "Literary Works of Liu Meng-te," Vol. 5.

(2) -- Chao I, "The Disasters Brought About By the Military Commanders of T'ang Dynasty," "Notes to the Twenty-Two Books of History," Vol. 20.

(3) -- "The Biography of Wu Yüan-chi Attached to the Biography of Wu Shao-ch'eng," "Old History of the T'ang," Vol. 145.

(5) (6) (8) (9) (13) (24) -- "Tzu-chih T'ung-ch'ien," Vol. 239.

(7) -- "Biography of Han Hung," "Old History of T'ang," Vol. 156.

(10) -- "Biography of Li Su," "Old History of T'ang Dynasty," Vol. 133; no source will be given for the same book referred to hereafter.

(11) (15) (16) (17) (18) (21) -- "Tzu-chih T'ung-ch'ien," Vol. 240.

(12) -- "Biography of Wu Shao-yang," "New History of T'ang," Vol. 214.

(14) (23) -- "Biography of P'ei Tu," "Old History of T'ang," Vol. 170.

(20) -- Wang Ming-sheng, "Discussion of 17 Books of History," Vol. 74.

(22) -- "Biography of Li Feng-chi," "New History of T'ang," Vol. 174.

(25) -- "Letter to His Excellency Li Su of Hsiangyang Presenting A Collection of Poems of T'ang," "Collected Works of Liu Ho-tung," Vol. 36.

(27) -- "Verse to Rhyme with Poem on the Famous Monument Marking the Conquest of Huaihsi by P'ei Tu, the Duke of Tsin, as Shown by Tung Po-i," "Collected Works by Mr. Lin Ch'uan," Vol. 7.

(28) -- Li Chih, "General Li Su," "Hidden Books," Vol. 51

(29) -- See Chu Hsi, "Research on the Works of Han Yü."

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A Tentative Discussion of T'ang T'ai Tsung's Nationality Policy

by

Hung Hsüan (红宣)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 2, February 10, 1975)

Ever since Ch'in Shih Huang founded the first multi-national state of centralized power, the great Chinese nation has gone through a prolonged and tortuous course of formation, replete with the movements of advance and regression -- union and disunion, unification and secession, harmony and squabble. During the entire span of more than two thousand years, unification of the country and national unity made up two-thirds of the time while secession and division made up the rest. Moreover, periods of unification and unity were getting longer and longer while periods of division and secession were getting shorter and shorter. The unification of the country and unity of the various nationalities -- this has been a fine tradition of the Chinese nation as well as the inexorable trend of historical development. Proof of this is provided by the history of the early part of the T'ang Dynasty.

I

During the Chenkuan period when Li Shih-min, Emperor T'ai Tsung of T'ang, held the reins of power, unparalleled unity appeared among the various nationalities of our country under the feudal rule of centralization of state authority. In those days, in Changan, the capital, lived a great number of minority nationals wearing dazzling national costumes and speaking different languages. Some of them were political emissaries dispatched by the various nationalities, some were representatives from various national minority regions for cultural and economic exchanges, some were students of national minorities attending the state academy in the capital, and some were tribal leaders of national minorities serving in the T'ang royal court. There were more than ten thousand families of national minorities residing in Changan. On royal occasions, leaders and envoys of various nationalities would flock to the capital to pay their homage, "often numbering as many as several hundred persons." In 633 A.D. (the 7th year of Chenkuan), Li Shih-min held a grand banquet in the palace in celebration of the unification of the country and unity among various nationalities. At the banquet Li Shih-min happily mixed with the leaders of the various nationalities. Chiehli Khan of the T'uchueh nationality /ancient name of the Turks/ sprang to his feet and performed a dance rich in national flavor, and Feng Chih-tai, leader of a national minority in southern China, recited a poem with great feeling. This was a scene of unity showing the Han, Hu and Yueh as members of a single family. In 641 A.D. (the 15th year of Chenkuan), Li Shih-min, in order to further consolidate centralization of power and to develop

the relations of unity and friendship among the various nationalities, offered the hand of Princess Wench'eng to Sungtsankanpu, King of the Turfans, thereby opening a new chapter of unity, cooperation and friendship between the Han and Tibetan nationalities. In this period, political, economic and cultural exchanges were extremely frequent among the various nationalities of the T'ang Dynasty. From the western frontiers cotton, grape wine, handicrafts, dance and music were taken into the interior one after another, while from the interior satin and silk, pottery, books and drugs were also taken to the western frontiers, Turfan and other regions. There was a continuous flow of people and goods between Changan and the various nationality regions. Take the northern part of the country for example. From Monan to the Central Plains regions there were 68 courier stations supplying horses and food to the travelers of the various nationalities. In addition, Li Shih-min sent a group of masons, artisans and scholars to the national minority regions to assist in economic and cultural construction. The unity and friendship between the various nationalities, in turn, brought the T'ang Dynasty peace and stability along its border, with its boundary "reaching the sea in the east, Yenchi in the west, Lin-i in the south, and Tamo in the north." The celebrated poet Li Po of the mid-T'ang period was born in Suiyeh city inhabited by the T'uchueh nationality in Central Asia. This situation of "tranquillity within the four seas" was a far cry from the scene since the Western Tsin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties when the country was dismembered, nationalities fought one another over a long time, cities were reduced to ruins and large tracts of land lay in waste.

The establishment of a unified government and the joint development of the various nationalities in the early T'ang period not only guaranteed and laid the foundation for the feudal kingdom of T'ang for 300 years but also contributed immensely to the consolidation of the vast frontiers of our mother country for the next thousand years and more, to the unity and harmony among the various nationalities of the Chinese nation and to the ultimate formation of a unitary multi-national state. Chang Chu-cheng, the outstanding politician who firmly adhered to the Legalist line in the late period of the Ming Dynasty, said with nostalgia at a time when the country was weak and harassed by alien nationalities in the years of Chiaching: "How can I bear seeing this chaos;" "I want to sing the praises of the Emperor of T'ang." This was an expression of the admiration and memory of all later progressive thinkers for the unification of the country, unity among all nationalities and strong national power during the T'ang Dynasty.

II

Li Shih-min was a competent statesman of the landlord class in the feudal middle ages, a representative who adopted the Legalist line since Ch'in Shih Huang and Emperor Wu of Han in the middle period of the feudal society. He was against division and secession and for unification; he was against disunity among the nationalities and for unity among them. Ever since his uprisings in the late Sui Dynasty, he had carried

on the struggle for re-building a feudal united country, successively wiping out the splittist and secessionist forces in various regions and beating back the aggression by the T'uchueh slave-owning nobles. After he ascended the throne, he attached tremendous importance to the summing up of historical experience. Comparing the rise and fall and the successes and failures of the various dynasties before him, he drew the necessary experience and lessons from the landlord class stand. He highly admired Ch'in Shih Huang, Emperor Wu of Han, Emperor Wu of Wei (Ts'ao Ts'ao) and others for pushing the Legalist line which helped strengthen the cause of building a united multi-national state. Li Shih-min once gave vent to his political ideals in a poem entitled "Looking At the Sea in a Spring Day": "I continue to think of the Han Emperor and Shih Huang, not only admiring them but also wanting to emulate them." It was his intention to carry on and develop the great cause of Ch'in Shih Huang and Emperor Wu of Han in strengthening the national unity of a multi-national state. On one occasion Li Shih-min discussed with his officials the reasons for the unification of the country and social stability. He asked them: "Although emperors and kings since ancient times were able to bring about stability within the border, nevertheless they failed to pacify the minority nationalities. I'm no match to them in terms of capability, yet I am more successful than they were in this respect. Why?" The officials gave him a host of explanations, but none could satisfy him. Li Shih-min said: "There are five reasons for my success. One of them is that since ancient times the practice had been to 'hold the Chinese race /the Han nationality/ in respect and look down upon the barbarians.' I do not entertain such prejudice, and I treat all nationalities with equality." This statement spoke for the sharp antagonism between his nationality policy and the Confucian ideology. Feudal rulers in history who worshipped Confucius and admired Confucianism used to slander the minority nationalities, saying "Those who are not of my race must entertain different notions." They incited the various nationalities to discriminate against, hate and slaughter each other, aggravating the national contradictions and bringing about a phase of dismemberment of the country and confused fighting among the nationalities that lasted more than 300 years since the Western Tsin and Southern and Northern Dynasties. Summing up these historical lessons, Li Shih-min raised his voice for the idea of opposing "slighting the barbarians." This was undoubtedly a step forward under the historical conditions at that time.

Inspired by this idea, Li Shih-min adopted a series of policies for enhancing the unity among the nationalities. He expressed welcome for all those minority nationalities who supported the feudal central government, were willing to live in friendship with the T'ang Dynasty or took the initiative to declare allegiance to the T'ang court, and he promised that they would be treated on the basis of equality and respect. Leaders of these minority nationalities were given official appointments by the central government; they were asked either to exercise administration over their old tribes or to stay in the capital to take up duties in the central government. At that time, in the capital of T'ang, "the royal court was full" of officials of minority nationalities, more than

a hundred of them holding the fifth or higher ranks. Among the more famous of them, Mojung Shun, Prince of Tukuhun, was made king of Hsip'ing prefecture, Ahshihnaszumo was appointed Great General Yuwuhou and king of Huaihua prefecture, and Holi, leader of Chipi tribe was appointed General Tsolingchün. These leaders of minority nationalities one after another made more or less contributions to the unification of the country and unity among the various nationalities at that time. Even in the case of those who previously opposed him, Li Shih-min also adopted the policy of uniting with them provided they genuinely changed their attitudes. After he captured Chiehli Khan of T'uchueh, he did not put him to death but arranged to have him appointed governor of K'uochou, and, when the latter was reluctant to take the offer, appointed him Great General Yuwei. Such a policy of according good treatment to the captives, a policy based on the desire for unification and unity, proved that Li Shih-min indeed was a far-sighted statesman under the historical conditions at that time.

The unification of the country and unity among the various nationalities are two aspects that complement each other. Only by standing firm for unification of the country is it possible to realize the unity among the various nationalities; likewise, only when unity among the various nationalities has developed will it be possible to consolidate the unification of the country still more firmly. Li Shih-min highly relished Wei Cheng's view that "when China lives in peace, barbarians on its periphery will submit to it," and devoted close attention to organically linking up these two aspects -- unification of the country and unity among the various nationalities. In the areas inhabited by the various minority nationalities, Li Shih-min set up offices of governors and military commanders of districts and counties under the unified leadership of the central government. Most of the officials below the governors' offices were taken up by leaders of the various minority nationalities, while military commanders were dispatched by the central authorities. For instance, after T'uchueh declared allegiance, the Anpei Military Commander's Office and Tanyu Military Commander's Office were set up in the south and north of Tamo /Desert/, and Anhsi Military Commander's Office was established for the south and north sides of the T'ienshan Mountains in Sinkiang. The various governors' offices were under the jurisdiction and leadership of the military commanders' offices. Apart from the fact that similar attempts were made in the Sui Dynasty, these institutions were introduced for the first time in history. Not only did they strengthen the ties between the central and local administrations and between the interior and the border regions but also helped to eliminate the state of isolation among the various nationalities and rendered them closer to each other.

While stepping up his unified leadership over the minority national regions, Li Shih-min paid much attention to the different characteristics of the prolonged formation of the various nationalities as well as to their customs and habits. He permitted the various minority nationalities to exercise "autonomy" in a certain sense, giving them relative power of independence. Such a policy should be said to accord with the aspirations of the people of various nationalities at that time.

III

This relatively progressive nationality policy adopted by T'ai Tsung, while naturally determined by his Legalist line, was even more profoundly influenced by the historical and contemporary class relations and relations among nationalities.

Harmony among the various nationalities began with the Ch'in-Han periods in our country. On the soil of this ancient country of the east, the various nationalities of China labored and lived together. Although strife and struggle in varying degrees could not be avoided among the various nationalities, judging by the main current of history, contacts and relations among the various nationalities were strengthened with each passing day. A desire for stability and for friendly exchanges had always been shared by the people of all nationalities. They "are in favor of equal alliance and are against mutual oppression." The underlying cause of hostility and wars among the nationalities was the restorationist and regressive forces of the exploiting classes, namely, the reactionary cliques working for division and secession among the slave-owners of the minority nationalities and the landlord class of the Han nationality. For the narrow interests of their classes or cliques, they ignored the interests of the vast masses of the people, stirred up national contradictions and even started aggressive wars. Therefore, the national question is in the final analysis a question of class struggle.

In the late Sui Dynasty and early T'ang, Shihpi Khan and Chiehli Khan, slave-owners of T'uchueh in the north of our country, openly launched an aggressive war by taking advantage of the fact that the peasant insurgent forces in the late Sui period had not yet acquired the strength to unify the country. In those days, some powerful members of the landlord class of the Han nationality, such as Hsueh Chu, Liang Shih-tu and Liu Wu-chou, colluded with the T'uchueh Khans and borrowed the armed forces of an alien nationality to attain their criminal aim of dividing up the country. They "plundered the chous and prefectures," "seized people and animals," "resorted to violence and brutality," thereby moving against the tide of history. Such reactionary acts which ran counter to the interests and aspirations of the vast masses of the laboring people of the Han and T'uchueh nationalities were naturally opposed by the people of the two nationalities. By "starting wars every year " and issuing "harsh government decrees," the T'uchueh Khans had caused the "displeasure" of their people, and their "excessive taxation" and "heavy levies imposed on the various tribes" caused the discontent and resistance of the Huiho Hsuehyento and other tribes and of the other nomads in the north. One after the other they disavowed Chiehli Khan's military clique of slave-owners and voluntarily declared their allegiance to the T'ang royal court. They "renounced their own rulers and came to the court to pay their homage" and "on the way to the capital there was an endless stream of barbarians" -- this showed that the various minority nationalities opposed the aggressive wars launched by T'uchueh and demanded peace, friendship, unity and cooperation among all nationalities. As for the vast masses of the people of the Han nationality, to whom the bitter

memories of the prolonged confused fighting among the warlords and division among the nationalities since the late Eastern Han period were still fresh, they yearned even more urgently for the unification of the country and friendship among all nationalities. In 629 A.D. (the 3rd year of Chenkuan), "Chinese returned from the frontier regions and barbarians along the border arrived to declare their allegiance, numbering some 1.2 million men and women." In the 5th year of Chenkuan, more than 80,000 Han people who were captured by the T'uchueh nationality returned to their hometowns on the Central Plains. These were handsome figures in the first years of Chenkuan when there were only a little more than 3 million households. Such phrases as "the common people lived in peace" and "people within the four seas looked toward the emperor" in history books, apart from being intended to eulogize the feudal rulers, were actually also a devious reflection of the vast masses of the people's opposition against national strife and call for national unification and social security.

But such good wishes of the masses of the people remained unfulfilled for several centuries. The reason for this was that there had been formed since the last years of Eastern Han a huge social force composed of big landlords and powerful families. They were the social basis for dismemberment and secession; they were the chief culprits for inciting disputes among different nationalities. They made a mess of the country and deprived the common people of peace and stability. Only by sweeping clean this reactionary stratum posing a stumbling block to the progress of history would it be possible to realize unification of the country and unity among different nationalities. The vehement peasant wars toward the end of the Sui Dynasty fulfilled this historical task. The power of the peasant revolutionary wars dealt a stunning blow to the powerful families, causing the strength of the potential separatist forces to be considerably weakened and creating the conditions for enforcing a policy of promoting unity among all nationalities in the early T'ang Dynasty. At the same time, the large-scale migration of nationalities during the years of Wei, Tsin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties, while causing the traumas of warfare, also accelerated the process of exchange and assimilation between the various nationalities, thereby opening up a new vision for people on the question of nationalities. Take Li Shih-min himself for example. His family originated from the Hu /a barbarian tribe/ later turned into Han. It was precisely owing to the existence of the above-mentioned conditions that a new phase of unity among all nationalities emerged during the early T'ang period.

After the fall of the Sui Dynasty, the eyes of the landlord class were fixed on the "ruins of cities and towns." Under such circumstances, the feudal landlord class in the early T'ang Dynasty felt the urgent need to consolidate the landlord class dictatorship of centralization of power which had just been established and to create a phase of relative stability in order to restore and develop the productive forces of feudal society and to increase the income from exploitation of the landlord class and its state apparatus. In the words of Li Shih-min, "I have refrained from waging war because only a short time has passed

since I ascended the throne. The country has not been stabilized and the common people have not become rich. I must pacify them with a period of quiet." This was the point of departure for Li Shih-min's nationality policy. Although the series of policies he adopted to safeguard national unity embodied the interests of the landlord class at that time, so far as the need to consolidate the unification of the country and develop unity among the different nationalities was concerned, they accorded with the will and wishes of the broad sections of the people as well as meeting the trend of historical development. This was a vital factor of Li Shih-min's success.

IV

"History tells us that correct political and military lines do not emerge and develop spontaneously and tranquilly, but in the course of struggle." The realization of Li Shih-min's policy of safeguarding national unity resulted from the then acute struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines.

Although Li Shih-min was born into an aristocratic family, he "spent 18 years mixing with the people" and had a relatively deep understanding of the conditions of the lower strata of society. After he held the reins of power, he boldly appointed to official positions a group of plebeian landlords and representative characters who came from the lower social strata and who upheld the Legalist line. This Legalist political group was opposed to secession and stuck to unification, calling for resisting the aggressive forces of the T'uchueh and bringing about unity among all nationalities. Opposing this line were men like Li Yüan, Li Chien-ch'eng and Li Yüan-chi. They employed a group of big bureaucrats who came from among the powerful landlords, such as Hsiao Yü and Feng Te-i, to condescend to the military aggressive clique of the T'uchueh slave-owners, appeasing and conceding to them. The result, however, was that the T'uchueh slave-owners, far from being influenced, became even more ferocious, engaged in wanton plunder, and again and again stirred up wars among different nationalities. When the T'uchueh aggressors invaded the heartland of the Central Plains, Li Yüan-chi fled and abandoned Taiyuan; Li Yüan and Li Chien-ch'eng, on the advice of a certain blockhead, were prepared to burn down Changan and establish the capital elsewhere, in a bid to persuade the "barbarians to stop their attack" through appeasement. It was only due to the resolute intervention of Li Shih-min that this absurd plan was abandoned. In 626 A.D., Chiehli Khan of T'uchueh launched a large-scale military offensive and arrived with his troops at the northern end of the bridge of the Wei River in Changan, the capital of T'ang. At this critical juncture, Hsiao Yü, Feng Te-i and other Confucianists were so scared that, trembling, they proposed to send the aggressors away "according to the rules of propriety." Opposing this, Li Shih-min pointed out: "If we show the aggressors our weakness, close the gate but do not defend the city, and talk to them about propriety and righteousness, the enemies will surely think that we are afraid and attack us and rob our people." He sternly refuted the capitulationist speeches of the conservatives such as Hsiao Yü, and personally led six

cavalry units under Kao Shih-lien, Fang Hsüan-ling and others "to the Wei River. There, he talked to Chiehli across the river and denounced him for breaking the agreement." "Soon, all the units had arrived successively and soldiers were spread all over the field." Chiehli was frightened and withdrew with his troops.

Since then such struggles had continued for a very long time. In 630 A.D. (the 4th year of Chenkuan), Li Ching and other great generals of the T'ang Dynasty led their troops to Mopei and joined their forces in a battle in Yinshan. They heavily trounced the T'uchueh army and captured Chiehli Khan. More than 100,000 people of the T'uchueh tribes declared their allegiance to T'ang. But the Confucianists said at one moment that "it is useless" to set up chous and counties in remote border areas which "had better be abandoned." At another moment they said that it was "waste of resources" to station troops along the border and make them plow the land to grow food, a measure they claimed would "enrich the foliage at the expense of the roots." Li Shih-min resolutely rejected these proposals. Toward the masses of the T'uchueh people, he adopted the policy of "preserving their tribes with their native customs" and "setting up chieftains to lead their tribes." They were settled in areas from Yuchou (now Peking) to Lingchou (now Kansu). Subsequent developments proved that this policy played an active role in protecting the frontiers of the T'ang Dynasty and the livelihood of the people of the various nationalities.

National relations are essentially a reflection of the class relations on the national question. In different historical periods unity among nationalities has its concrete historical content. Li Shih-min was a landlord class statesman and, as such, was incapable of transcending the class boundaries to realize genuine national equality and could not but be swayed by the narrow interests and prejudices of the exploiting classes. His policy of nationality unity was clearly stamped with the landlord class brand, as its objective was to strengthen the unity between the rulers of the upper strata of the Han and the minority nationalities for the sake of carrying out a re-distribution of power and property. This determined that such unity was necessarily transient and far from consolidated. In fact, no ruler of the exploiting classes could truly realize national equality. Only the Marxists can scientifically solve such problems as national unity, national equality and national autonomy, and only by thoroughly eradicating the system of exploitation is it possible to destroy the social source giving rise to national inequality. As "Communist Manifesto" says: "Once exploitation of man by man disappears, exploitation of one nation by another will also vanish with it."

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Questions and Answers About Capitalist Economic Crisis (Continued)*

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 2, February 10, 1975)

III. Periodical Economic Crises Are Vicious Circles of Capitalist Production

A: It is quite right for you to say that the capitalist system is the source of economic crises. But there is one question: The contradiction between social production and private ownership took shape along with the emergence of the capitalist economy, so when the capitalist system was established, the source of economic crises was there. But why did periodical economic crises of over-production break out in England only in 1825?

B: It is very important to clarify this question if we are to further understand that the capitalist system is the source of economic crises. Why did capitalist economic crises begin to occur periodically in England only in the 1820's? On this question, Engels made an in-depth analysis. In his article "The Condition of the Working Class in England," he analyzed the stagnation caused by over-production and pointed out: "In the early stages of industrial development, such stagnation was confined only to individual industrial sectors or individual markets. However, due to concentration of competition, workers who lost their jobs in one industrial sector would go over to some other sectors where they could learn to do the work most easily, and commodities which could not be sold in one market would be taken to other markets. As a result, individual small crises converged day after day and gradually formed a series of periodical repetitions of crises." This means that in the early stage of development of capitalist industry, partial and individual over-production appeared frequently, but for such over-production to develop into "periodical repetitions of crises," namely, into general economic crises of over-production affecting all industries in one country or crises affecting the entire capitalist world would require a process from partial quantitative changes to general qualitative changes. "It does not take one day for a river to be frozen into ice." Within the one or two centuries in its early phases capitalist industry still consisted of capitalist simple cooperation of manual labor and handicraft workshops. In those days, capitalist production did not grow at a very fast rate, and although the contradiction between socialization of production and capitalist private ownership had existed and was exerting its effect, it had not intensified and over-production was still a partial and isolated phenomenon. Following the development of capitalist competition characterized by big fish eating small fish and following daily growing concentration of capital and production, capitalist handicraft workshops were

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* For the first installment, please see SPRCM No. 810.

getting larger and larger in scale and the division of work more and more refined, thereby gradually resulting in the substitution of manual labor by machines. After the Industrial Revolution that began in the mid-18th century, handicraft workshops developed into big machine industries. With the inflation of capitalist production greatly accelerated, the basic contradictions of capitalism began to intensify and a general economic crisis of over-production in all sectors erupted like a volcano. When we speak of the first economic crisis that broke out in England in 1825, we refer to this general economic crisis of over-production affecting all industrial sectors. As for partial and individual small crises, they had already occurred frequently long before 1825.

A: You quoted from Engels regarding "a series of periodical repetitions of crises." I think they probably referred to those general economic crises of over-production that broke out again and again at a certain interval after the general economic crisis of over-production that exploded in England in 1825. However, in capitalist countries the basic contradictions of capitalism exist every year and every month, yet economic crises do not break out every year and every month but will repeat themselves periodically. Why?

B: Here we come upon the periodicity of crises. By periodicity we mean the intervening period between one crisis and the next. For example, the worldwide economic crisis of the 1930's began in 1929, and from 1933 the capitalist economy gradually crawled out from the crisis. Not long afterward, by 1937, another worldwide economic crisis broke out. The eight years from 1929 to 1937 were described as a cycle. In this cycle, generally four stages had to be gone through--crisis, depression (or stagnation), recovery and boom (or prosperity).

Crisis is the basic stage of the cycle; it is the terminal of the last cycle and the starting point of the next cycle. Crisis usually erupts suddenly and violently in the most "prosperous" time of the economy. Generally speaking, before the advent of the crisis, the market looks "booming": capitalists in commerce order huge stocks of goods, those in industry go all out to expand production, and bankers issue large amounts of credits. In fact, at this time production has all along exceeded social purchasing power, some production sectors have already run into difficulties and some have even gone bankrupt, but over-production is temporarily covered up by the false prosperity created by the commercial and credit systems as well as by speculative activities. However, paper cannot wrap up fire. Over-production cannot be covered up for long by the fake prosperity caused by competition and anarchy. When the contradiction reaches its peak, thence comes the crisis. In order to dispose of their stocks, capitalists in commerce are reluctant to buy any more. At this time, stocks pile up in the warehouses, sales become difficult, share prices plummet, and production slumps sharply. Many medium-sized and small enterprises are the first to go bust, not a few banks collapse, and even those factories which have not been closed cut back on production, thereby causing unemployment to rise steeply. The result is that the economy of the entire capitalist

country suddenly finds itself paralyzed as if it were struck by a plague. But does the crisis go on forever? No. Although the basic contradictions of capitalism giving rise to economic crises exist every year and every month, yet economic crises do not exist every year and every month. This is because after a crisis continues for some time, compulsory destruction of social productive forces gradually reduces the stocks accumulated in society, and production and consumption gradually head for relative equilibrium. At this time, production decline will be arrested, the capitalist economy will gradually crawl out from the crisis and gradually pass over from the stage of crisis to that of depression.

Depression is the stage of transition toward recovery and boom. In capitalist society, after the attack of a tempestuous economic crisis, waves of closures of industrial and commercial enterprises slowly quiet down and the whole of capitalist production is in a stagnant state. Both production and consumption are maintained at a very low level. At this time, after a period of sales of surplus stocks, existing inventories gradually diminish and prices slowly rise. To extricate themselves from the economic crisis and seek profit, the capitalists will step up exploitation of the workers on the one hand and, on the other, begin to carry out renewal of fixed capital by the application of new equipment and technology. Renewal of fixed capital encourages many sectors to boost production. In this way, the market takes a turn for the better, purchasing orders gradually increase, and the capitalists, seeing the opportunity for profit, again begin to make new investments. Then production is gradually restored. And so, the social economy goes over from the stage of depression to that of recovery.

Recovery is the third stage of the cycle, a stage characterized by gradual expansion of production and growing social demand for products. As the capitalists require large amounts of means of production in carrying out massive fixed capital investments in order to expand production, this will encourage the development of production of the means of production such as electric power, iron and steel, machinery and equipment, etc., as well as encouraging growth of employment. Higher production of capital goods and higher employment, in turn, will boost the demand for consumer goods, thereby stimulating the growth of production of means of livelihood such as food, clothing and articles of daily use. At this time, commodity prices soar, profits increase drastically, and the entire social economy climbs out from its paralysis like a patient who has recovered through treatment and recuperation. This marks the transition from the stage of recovery to that of boom.

Boom is the preparatory stage for the next crisis. In this stage, production continues to expand and may even develop beyond the highest point before the crisis; the capitalists' profits rise sharply; old enterprises are expanded rapidly while new ones continue to emerge. Huge orders by merchants push prices higher. Banks, too, are happy to lend; there is plenty of money for the asking. The capitalist economy again looks "booming." However, such superficial prosperity cannot conceal

the decay of the "internal organs." Because the basic contradictions of capitalism continue to exert their effect, drastic expansion of production is followed by relative contraction of the purchasing power of the laboring people, and a new crisis is again fermenting. As the contradiction between the trend toward blind expansion of production and the relative shrinkage of purchasing power exists objectively and is sure to become more and more acute, at this time, the economic crisis of over-production will eventually and inevitably appear once again.

Crisis--depression--recovery--boom--crisis. This gives expression to the periodicity of economic crises, a periodicity which also characterizes capitalist production. It shows that the capitalist relations of production, insofar as they disrupt and restrict the development of social productive forces, can no longer meet the demands for the development of the social productive forces. The periodicity is precisely an expression of the decadent nature of capitalism.

A: You have just said that the periodicity of capitalist economic crises is also the periodicity of capitalist production. This is a most important question. Could you analyze it further?

B: This is a scientific conclusion drawn by Marx and Engels on the basis of an in-depth analysis of capitalist economic crises. Marx said: "Capitalist production moves through certain periodical cycles. It moves through a state of quiescence, growing animation, prosperity, overtrade, crisis and stagnation." ("Wages, Price and Profit") That is why we say that an economic crisis generally moves through four stages, in fact, the four stages of a cycle of capitalist production. If there were a cycle without these four stages, then there would be no capitalist production. It is very important to understand this. Because it is exactly by negating this vicious circle of capitalist production that the bourgeoisie and the revisionists negate the inevitability of economic crises and the inevitability of proletarian revolution. Very often, they only exaggerate the fact that capitalist economic crisis does not break out every year and every month and the fact of temporary "prosperity" during the cycle of capitalist production in order to embellish the capitalist system. Such dirty tricks had been strongly denounced by Lenin. He pointed out: "The position of revisionism was even worse as far as the theory of crises and the theory of collapse were concerned. Only for the shortest space of time could people, and then only the shortsighted, think of remodelling the foundations of the Marxian doctrine under the influence of a few years of industrial boom and prosperity. Facts very soon made it clear to the revisionists that crises were not a thing of the past: prosperity was followed by a crisis." ("Marxism and Revisionism") Lenin made these remarks in 1908. For the past 60 years and more, the capitalist world continued to suffer from more and more serious economic crises, thereby entirely proving Lenin's scientific prediction. Only the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, which have completely betrayed Leninism, still hoisted the tattered banner of the old revisionists in 1974 when the capitalist world experienced yet another economic crisis. They arbitrarily argued that this was not a

crisis but merely "a temporary interruption of the stage of boom." They openly attempted to "remodel the foundations of the Marxian doctrine"! They were even worse than Chia Yüan-ch'un in the "Dream of the Red Chamber." Chia saw the signs of the forthcoming collapse of the feudal society even in days when "there was good life all around" and compared the society then to firecrackers, saying: "You may scare away the spirits. You may be dressed in silk and your voice may be like thunder. You may frighten people when you roar, but then when I look back at you, you will have been reduced to ashes." The feudal society at that time might look grand on the surface, yet it would perish once it exploded. The revisionists are so deceived by temporary prosperity in capitalist production that they spread the myth that capitalism is like an evergreen tree. However, the actual serious economic crises have given them a sound slap in the face!

A: That is true, indeed. The current economic crisis has dealt a really big blow to imperialism and a heavy blow to revisionism as well. Now, I still have a question and ask you to analyze it. The question is, in the past the cycle of economic crises was roughly about ten years. How did you work it out?

B: How many years it would take for a capitalist economic crisis to break out is not a question of calculation, but a question of fact. Actually, before capitalism developed to the monopoly stage, about once every ten years, there was an economic crisis. There were many factors which influenced the duration of this cycle, one of them being the renewal of fixed capital. As we know, to carry out production the capitalists must have machinery, equipment, plant and other fixed capital. Fixed capital is not consumed at once in the course of production but will be wholly worn and torn after a fairly long period of time. Machinery, equipment and plant will be renewed only after they have been used in production for a number of years. If judged merely from the process of material wear and tear, big machines generally will be wholly worn and torn after they have been used for 20-30 years. However, in the course of capitalist production there is not only material wear and tear (or called visible wear and tear) but also spiritual wear and tear (or called invisible wear and tear). What is meant by spiritual wear and tear is that, following technological advance, although an original machine has not been wholly worn and torn judging by its material state, new machines more efficient than it have been produced. So, if capitalists still continue to use their old machines, they will be driven out of business by those who use new machines and new techniques. Fierce competition thus forces the capitalists to abandon the old machines which are still serviceable and replace them with new machines, thereby stirring up a hot wave of renewal of fixed capital. Such loss caused by the disuse of old machines which still can be used as a result of adoption of new machines, we call spiritual wear and tear. Marx and Engels, after making a scientific study of the data concerning renewal of fixed capital in major capitalist countries in the 19th century, arrived at this conclusion: "The development of the modes of capitalist production accelerates the replacement of the means of production, and the need increases for them

to be continuously replenished due to invisible wear and tear which occurs long before their own visible life comes to an end. It may be thought that in the large-scale industries this life cycle in sectors with the most decisive significance is now on the average ten years.... This cycle composed of certain inter-related turnarounds and consisting of a number of years (capital restricted by its fixed components within this cycle) creates the material foundations for periodical crises." ("Capital," Vol. 2) Why does the renewal of fixed capital create the material foundations for periodical crises? This is because massive renewal of fixed capital will certainly increase the demand for the means of production and then encourage the production of such means of production. And following the expansion of production of the means of production, the demand for labor force will also increase and encourage the production of the means of livelihood, thereby enabling the capitalist economy to gradually embark on the stage of boom from its state of crisis. However, when it has embarked on the stage of boom, and when output outstrips demand, crisis will come again. When depression is switched over to recovery after the crises, the capitalists will again try to seize the market by technological innovations and lowering cost. This will again lead to massive renewal of fixed capital and lay the material foundations for the next crisis. However, on the question of relationship between the cycle of renewal of fixed capital and that of crisis, two questions must be given attention. First, as Marx pointed out, "These figures must under no circumstances be regarded as rigid and changeless. On the contrary, in accordance with the various laws of capitalist production which we have expounded above, we must arrive at this conclusion: These figures can be changed and the duration of the cycle can be gradually shortened." ("Capital," Vol. 1) Second, the renewal of fixed capital only lays the material groundwork for the cycle of the crisis and should not be regarded as the cause of the periodicity of economic crises. The reason is that if the basic contradictions of capitalism do not exist, there will be no economic crises and the question of periodicity of economic crises will not arise. The cause of periodicity of economic crisis, like the cause of the outbreak of crises, is determined by the basic contradiction between social production and private ownership.

A: Marx said: "The duration of the cycle can be gradually shortened." We see that since World War II, the development of economic crises in capitalist countries has exactly followed this course, namely, the cycle has been greatly shortened. Instead of breaking out once in about ten years before the war, it has now broken out once in every five years. Why?

B: Indeed, since World War II, the cycle of economic crisis in capitalist countries has been considerably shortened. The United States up to now has experienced six economic crises and Japan has experienced seven, with each crisis breaking out in an average of 4-5 years' time. Why has the cycle of post-war economic crisis been shortened? Generally speaking, there are the following reasons: First, the basic one is the further intensification of the basic contradiction of capitalism. As the level

of socialization of production has risen, the means of production and the fruit of production have been more and more concentrated in the hands of a small group of monopoly capitalists. Under the rule of monopoly capital, the laboring people have been subject to increasing exploitation. The gap between the purchasing power of the laboring masses and the growth of production is widening, and the problem of the domestic market has become still more serious. The second reason is the adoption by the monopoly bourgeoisie of the Keynesian theory -- including such methods as state intervention, deficit financing and militarization of the national economy -- as measures to counter the crises. Such measures are measures of drinking poison to quench one's thirst. When economic crises broke out in the past, the contradictions were more fully revealed, and through drastic destruction by the crises, the contradiction between social production and consumption was solved compulsorily and the relative equilibrium thus established could last a little longer. For this reason, the cycle of crises was longer also. But since World War II, owing to the adoption by the monopoly bourgeoisie of the so-called Keynesian measures to counter the crisis, the contradictions of capitalism were suppressed before they were fully revealed, thereby causing the next crisis to break out sooner. The third reason is that the disintegration of the imperialist, colonialist system, the continual awakening and strengthening of the Third World, and the continual relative contraction of the foreign markets of imperialist countries have reduced the possibility of shoving the crises onto others. This has further shortened the crisis cycle. The shortening of the cycle of capitalist economic crisis since the war shows that the basic contradictions of capitalism have intensified still more and the capitalist relations of production have become more and more a serious obstacle to the development of the productive forces.

A: Since capitalist economic crises are periodical, would they go on recurring forever?

B: No! The periodical outbreak of capitalist economic crises is definitely not a simple repetition. Engels pointed out: "Capitalist production gives rise to a new 'vicious cycle'." ("Anti-Dühring") The periodical economic crises are periodical vicious circles. Each circle will advance to a higher level, further sharpen basic contradictions of capitalism and the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, continue to shake the foundations of bourgeois rule, and create favorable conditions for the socialist revolution of the proletariat. The capitalist system will eventually be replaced by the socialist system, and this is an objective law of social development.

(This section is written by T'ao Yu-chih)

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The Circumstances Surrounding the Oil Struggle of Arab States

by

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Since the Middle East October war in 1973 the Arab states and their people have used petroleum as a weapon to whip up an oil struggle of far-reaching significance. This is a pioneering action in the anti-imperialist struggle waged by Third World countries. Inspired by the victory of the oil struggle over the past year, the growingly awakened peoples of Third World countries have stirred up gigantic waves to uphold national sovereignty, control national resources, develop national economies and oppose imperialism, particularly the exploitation and plunder by the superpowers.

Origins of Oil Struggle

The Middle East is the petroleum treasure-house of the world, with virtually all the states there having found oil. This region of massive oil-bearing formations, measuring 1,200 miles long and 500 miles wide, contains oil estimated at more than 61 billion metric tons or two-thirds of all the known oil deposits of the capitalist world. The 1972 output of oil in the Middle East was 1,073 million tons, being 41.3 percent of the oil output of the capitalist world. This was in excess of the total combined output of the US and the USSR. The cost of drilling oil in the Middle East is the lowest in the capitalist world. Whereas the drilling cost per ton in the US is US$9.72, it is only US$0.46 in Kuwait. The extraction cost in Saudi Arabia is only 1/35th of that required in the US. The Middle East deserts provide imperialism almost hourly with enormous profits from oil.

The Middle East oil is not only a lucrative source for imperialism but also provides the imperialist war machine with important motive power. An imperialist element said openly, "The movement of warships, deployment of troops and production of high explosives cannot do without oil. Whoever controls the Middle East oil is likely to win the war." On the other hand, the strategic importance of the Middle East lies in the fact that it is a vital link connecting Europe and Africa with Asia.

The UK was the first country to control the tapping of the Middle East oil. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, the UK had been in control of 9 percent of Asian, African and Latin American oil resources. However, by the end of that war, at least 75 percent of the oil resources of these continents had been under British control. A British petroleum banker named Edward then said with apparent elation, "The British position is impenetrable. With the exception of the US, all known oil producing regions and all potential and reliable oilfields are either under British control and management or backed by British capital."

Just when British oil magnates were in high spirits US oil monopolist syndicates, which had been casting a covetous eye on them, commenced fiercely attacking the British influence in the Middle East.

British-US contest for spheres of influence over the Middle East oil was begun after World War I. Reports about "rapidly dwindling US oil resources" were first carried in American newspapers which gave much play to what was blatantly referred to as an "energy crisis." Then the US Department of State called for American participation in the exploitation of Middle East oil resources on the basis of the principle of "open-door policy" and "equal opportunity" for all. Thereupon major US oil monopolist syndicates such as Mobil Oil of New Jersey, Mobil Oil of New York, Mobil Oil of California and Texaco availed themselves of the opportunity to get a foothold on the rich oilfields in the Middle East.

Following World War II, I-Ko-Szu, a responsible person of the US Petroleum Affairs Administration whipped up an ill wind of another "energy crisis" in the US. He asserted that the US "has used up all the oil it has produced" during World War II and declared that the US should be prepared to get into regions with rich oilfields. Behind the "energy crisis" cover was an undisguised US attempt to get into the Middle East region, the site of the oil capital. This signaled vigorous US expansion of its influence in the Middle East.

Following intensified and fierce strivings during World War II and in the immediate postwar years, oil monopolist capital of the US and the UK had finally swapped their roles in the Middle East. By 1969 US oil monopolistic capital had invested more than US$5 billion in the Middle East, comprising 56 percent of all foreign oil investments in the region. British investment on the other hand had dropped to 34 percent. Since the 1960's only 3 percent of direct US investments abroad has been diverted to the Middle East oil industry, with profits derived from oil making up 15-17 percent of the total amount of profits obtained from its direct investments abroad. Each year US monopolist capital grabbed well over US$1.5 billion in net profits from its oil investments in the Middle East, with cumulative profits from 1960 to 1968 amounting to more than US$12 billion. This sum was equivalent to the US gold reserves for 1968. Thus US oil investments in the Middle East became a highly lucratic source for US monopolist capital. Anglo-American strivings for oil supremacy in the Middle East finally came to an end with the US in the lead. However, the contention for hegemony was far from over. "An important trait of imperialism is the contention for supremacy among several big powers." The advent of Soviet revisionist social imperialism signaled a new round of striving for supremacy in the Middle East between the two superpowers, the USSR and the US.

USSR-US Strivings for Middle East Oil

The Middle East is close to the political and economic centers of Soviet revisionist social imperialism. The Middle East region bears the brunt of Soviet expansions from the Black Sea. While the focus of US-USSR

strivings is in Europe, 80 percent of oil consumed by European countries comes from the Middle East. If the USSR controls the transport routes of petroleum produced in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, it is virtually in control of the taps for the flow of oil to Europe. Commented one French newspaper: "Whoever has access to oil controls the world, particularly Europe which is dependent upon the oil supplied by the East."

Soviet attempts to control and plunder Middle East oil likewise stem from its long-term strategic needs for oil. Although the Soviet Union possessed enormous amounts of untappped petroleum reserves, 87 percent of these deposits are located in Siberia, the Far East and Central Asia. To explore and develop these oil-bearing regions requires enormous sums of money. The wells west of the Urals now under exploitation have nearly dried up, causing a steady fall in output. But with frantic efforts directed at arms expansion and combat-readiness, oil consumption has likewise gone up rapidly, as much as 8 percent per year in the rate of rise. Furthermore, huge oil exports to a number of East European countries each year have also intensified the contradiction between supply and demand. The USSR, for instance, imported in 1967 only 100,000 tons of oil from the Middle East. The amount rose sharply to 7.5 million tons in 1972 and to 12-15 million tons in the following year. By 1980, it was estimated, the USSR may have to import between 50 and 100 million tons from the Middle East.

Pursuing monopolistic and high profits is inherent in imperialism. Every ton of oil imported from the Middle East costs the USSR US$20 less than oil drilled from the remote eastern part of the Soviet Union. In addition, through speculative manipulation such as buying at low prices and selling at high prices, the USSR makes huge profits in quick deals. Soviet unfavorable trade balance with the West amounted to US$1-1.1 billion in 1972-73. But this adverse trade balance was reversed in 1974 when the USSR took advantage of the Arab oil embargo against Western countries in support of Israeli Zionism to sell oil and natural gas at high prices. This resulted in a favorable Soviet trade balance with the West estimated to reach as much as US$1.-1.5 billion. However, the new tsars of Soviet revisionism are not satisfied with their "traveling traders" role; they aspire to be "sitting traders." For this reason, they take over the "southward" expansion approach of the old tsars and begin infiltrating into Middle East oil producing countries in an attempt to supplant the influence of US imperialism and dominate the Middle East. In that region they dispatch oil prospecting teams to the Middle East heartland in an exhaustive search for oil and to obtain oilfield drilling rights under a host of pretexts such as exchanging arms or machinery for oil, "technical cooperation," economic or military "aid," and extending "loans" to the Arab states.

In the late 1960's the USSR made extensive moves to penetrate Iraq, a country rich in oil resources, under the pretext of "supporting" and "aiding" that state. The USSR and Iraq signed two oil pacts in 1969 under which the former was given drilling rights in two oilfields in Iraq

in exchange for two Soviet loans amounting to US$74,900,000 and US$77,000,000 respectively to Iraq, apart from technical "aid" to that country. In July 1970 the USSR began to drill wells in one of the oilfields in Iraq. This was followed in June of the following year by the conclusion of a Soviet-Iraqi "aid" agreement providing for Iraqi repayments, commencing 1972, of Soviet loans with crude oil. Another contract for oilfield construction was signed between the two countries in April 1972. At the same time Soviet "aid" to Iraq included the erection of a refinery and large-scale prospecting by Soviet teams in different parts of Iraq.

Iran's oil industry had long been dominated by US monopolist capital. Since the 1960's the USSR has established a foothold in Iran. From 1963 to 1968 Soviet "economic aid" and loans to Iran amounted to US$1.1 billion, plus another loan of US$150 millions for the purchase of arms. Iran was to repay the Soviet loan with oil and natural gas, amounting in fact to charging "usurious interest rates" to the borrower by the lender. Iran used the loan to build a 1,100-km pipeline for the transmission of natural gas from a major oil producing region in Iran to a Soviet-Iranian border town. Built at a cost of US$678 million, this pipeline with a transmission capacity of 8 billion cubic meters of natural gas a year could supply the USSR with 6 billion cubic meters. Completion of the phase two pipeline project, begun in 1973, could increase the transmission capacity to 16 billion cubic meters, of which 10 billion would go to the USSR. The latter has thus reaped huge profits by selling this natural gas to Europe.

Where untapped oil deposits exist, Soviet revisionism would spare no efforts to have a hand in the prospecting and exploitation of oil in regions such as Egypt, the northeastern sector of Syria, the Yemen People's Republic and Algeria.

Soviet penetration of oil producing states in the Middle East has matched the pervasiveness of the pioneers of old and new colonialism. No wonder the Western press cried in alarm: "Soviet coveting of the Middle East oil is strikingly reminiscent of a comeback of the British Empire!"

As far as the US is concerned, whether or not it can maintain its predominant position in respect of the Middle East oil poses a question of vital importance. The American ruling clique once declared without pretension: "To the US and Western Europe the Middle East is of prime importance. Not only has it oil but also it is the gateway to Africa and the Mediterranean, the cornerstone of NATO." To curb Soviet expansion key US negotiators had been most active in the Middle East, trying in every possible way to offset the Soviet presence. The tense situation in the Middle East stemmed from USSR-US collusion as well as contention between the two superpowers. To alter this situation the countries and peoples in the Middle East would have to unite and persist in the struggle against imperialism, against colonialism and against hegemonism. The Middle East belongs to the people of various states in the Middle East, not to the two hegemonic powers -- the USSR and the US. The people of

the Middle East have awakened, indicating that the "jackals of imperialism should bear in mind that the days they can place the destiny of mankind at their mercy and carve up African and Asian nations as they please are gone forever."

Oil As a Weapon in the Struggle Waged By Arab States

Imperialist plunder of Middle East oil has fostered abnormal growth of the national economies of the producing countries. The leasing of large tracts of land for oil extraction has led to the bankruptcy of the countryside and the decline in farming. Food supplies and consumer goods required by the populace have to be imported. Oil producing countries have thus become the captive market for imperialism to dump its surplus commodities. Although the output of Middle East oil has gone up by leaps and bounds over the years, the oil processing industry remains undeveloped. The refining capacity in 1970 comprised merely 22 percent of the oil output.

The oil workers in the Middle East have been subjected to exploitation to an alarming degree. During the 1960's American oil monopolies each year exploited about US$4,700 from every oil worker in the US and US$40,000 from every oil worker in Kuwait. The latter earned less than one-sixth of their American counterparts.

Where there is oppression there is resistance. Since the day imperialism encroached upon the Middle East, the people of that region have waged strugglesin different forms to resist intrusion. Since the end of World War II in particular the Arabs and Arab states in the Middle East have unceasingly whipped up tremendous waves of opposing imperialist plunder of oil resources. in 1951 Iran became the first state to nationalize oil by taking over the Anglo-Iranian Petroleum Company owned by British monopolist capital and establishing the Iranian National Petroleum Company. Other Arab states in the Middle East followed suit by unfolding struggles and raising oil taxes. Since 1951 Western oil operators have generally paid taxes to the governments of the oil producing countries in the Middle East in amounts representing 50 percent of their profits. In the early 1960's Kuwait, which contains one-eighth of the oil reserves of the capitalist world, recovered 9,262 square kilometers of oil concessions from Western oil operators and turned them over to the Kuwait National Petroleum Company for exploitation. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed in 1960 by Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Venezuela. In 1971 Kuwait forced Western oil companies to accept a rise of 5 percent in oil tax rate. In the following year OPEC was expanded to include Algeria, Libya, Qatar and seven other states.

OPEC has thus greatly reinforced the strength of the Arab states in their struggle against imperialism.

Oil producing nations in 1972 began to struggle for their shares of oil holdings. Six OPEC members, including Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi

Arabia and Qatar, through struggles succeeded in obtaining 20 percent of the holdings of the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) as well as increasing their holdings in several Western petroleum companies such as Shell operated by Anglo-Dutch interests progressively to 51 percent from 25 percent in 1973.

The awakening of the Arabs has shaken the hegemonic domination of the two superpowers in the Middle East. In their strivings for Middle East oil resources, the USSR and the US have spared no efforts to create tensions in that region. However, the Arabs' fury in their struggles against aggression and against hegemony was so irresistible that in October 1973 they brushed aside the "no war, no peace" situation created by the two superpowers and struck stunning blows at Israeli Zionism and its supporters. Using oil as a weapon, they unleashed a world-shaking struggle over oil which meted out severe punishment to Israeli Zionism and its supporters.

What follows are specific measures for carrying out the oil struggles:

(1) Reduced production. OPEC reached a decision on October 17, 1973 whereby oil producing Arab states would progressively curtail oil production at the rate of 5 percent per month. Another decision was reached on November 15 in the same year on a further cutback of 25 percent in production.

(2) Embargo. Oil supplies to countries supporting Israel were embargoed. These included Portugal, Rhodesia, South Africa and the US.

(3) Higher posted prices. Apart from curtailing production and imposing oil embargoes, it was decided that the posted prices be raised from US$2.99 to US$9.74 per barrel. Toward the end of 1974 another decision was reached by OPEC recommending the enforcement of a single price system from January to September of 1975. This further restricted the profits of international oil operators and their moves to raise the prices of crude oil.

(4) Nationalization. Following talks with Western oil companies, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Libya and other oil producing countries decided on the progressive implementation of a nationalization scheme through increased national holdings in the oil operators. For instance, Kuwait had a 25 percent share of the holdings of foreign oil firms. This figure went up to 60 percent in January 1974 when the Kuwait government took over Kuwait Petroleum Company jointly operated by the US and the UK. Kuwait was to announce not long afterward a program of nationalizing the entire oil industry in that state. Saudi Arabia decided in December 1974 to completely nationalize ARAMCO, by far the largest of its kind in the world. Other oil producing countries, such as Qatar and the United Arab Sheikdom, prepared to follow suit.

The Arab states' struggle over oil featuring curtailed production, embargo, price rises and nationalization moves has worked like magic. It

has jolted the capitalist world and particularly perturbed the two superpowers, the USSR and the US. Increased oil prices have greatly increased the revenues of the Arab states in their struggle to uphold national sovereignty and defend national resources. The oil revenues of the Arab producing countries in 1972 amounted to less than US$10 billion, rising to US$19.3 billion in the following year. A further rise to US$50 billion was forecast for 1974 by Kuwait's Minister of Petroleum and Finance. This would provide favorable material conditions for developing the national economies of these states, aside from opening up new prospects for economic cooperation among Third World nations on the basis of mutual assistance and mutual benefit.

After suffering serious blows in the oil battle US imperialism hurriedly called a "conference of oil consuming countries" in an attempt to force the Arab states to reduce oil prices through measures such as increasing the production of petroleum and coal and economizing on oil consumption. This was accompanied by intimidation and threats of force to occupy Arab oilfields. To dominate the Middle East Soviet revisionism came up with the fallacy that Arab oil is an "international asset." The struggle of the Arab states to uphold and defend their national resources was denounced as manifestations of "regionalism" and "economism" and as "reflecting group interests." Such fallacies had completely unmasked Soviet revisionism as a "natural ally of developing nations."

Truth is on the side of the Arabs and therefore the imperialist clamor is not justified. Imperialism has long taken advantage of its monopoly of the world market to raise the prices of manufactured goods and force down the prices of raw materials produced by the developing countries, to ruthlessly exploit the people of Third World nations. According to US statistical data, the prices of crude oil went up by only 23 percent during the 44 years from 1913 to 1957, but during the same period the prices of steel rose by 239 percent while the prices of drilling rigs shot up 276 percent. From 1957 to 1973 the unfair exchange between low-priced crude oil produced by the Arab states and high-priced manufactured goods of the West further widened. Even though the Arab producing countries readjusted their posted prices during the October 1973 Middle East war, due to Western oil monopolist syndicates' attempts to raise gasoline prices, what the consumers had paid for the oil products largely became the profits of the governments and oil companies of these countries. On December 1, 1973, gasoline was retailed in the UK at US$0.897 per gallon. The breakdown shows that the cost of processing and marketing the crude oil into the petroleum product for the consumer amounted to only 1.6 percent, with a mere 8.1 percent going to the oil producing countries as revenue; but the taxes collected by the UK government amounted to 57.6 percent, with 32.7 percent going to oil companies as their profits. In raising their posted oil prices, the Arab states therefore at most made some initial adjustment of the unreasonable price ratios. Since imperialism is free to force down oil prices and raise the prices of manufactured goods to exploit the Arabs and loot their resources, why can't the Arabs unite and do the same thing to boycott imperialist exploitation and plunder?

In a certain sense, the Arabs' use of oil as a weapon against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism is nothing but tit for tat. That is all there is to it.

Far-Reaching Significance of Oil Struggle

The struggle over oil is indeed an eye-opener for all. Since oil can be used as a weapon to effectively hit back at imperialism, then the Third World which has access to rich natural resources should likewise use these and other resources as weapons against imperialism. Once the two superpowers, the USSR and the US, are cut off from the minerals and raw materials resources of Third World countries, they will be in a desperate situation. A 1969 breakdown of Third World mineral exports into the US shows that iron ore comprises 43.6 percent, manganese ore 91.9 percent, bauxite 99.9 percent, copper 78.2 percent, tin 100 percent. On the other hand, more and more Third World minerals and raw materials have been absorbed by Soviet revisionist social imperialism. According to an official Soviet admission, during the 12 years from 1963 to 1975 as much as 11 times more non-ferrous metals and selected minerals produced by the developing countries would be imported into the USSR. From Africa alone, for instance, the Soviet Union would import cheap iron ore, timber, large quantities of tropical fruits, foodstuffs, beverages, clothing and cotton from 35 African states. Raw and semi-finished materials cited above show that once imperialism is cut off from the supplies provided by the developing countries, it cannot manage to get by. The initiative is completely in the hands of the people of Third World countries. As long as they dare to struggle and use the weapons held in their hands, they can assuredly win in struggle.

Without political independence, a country cannot possibly become economically independent. Without economic independence, it can hardly consolidate its independence. Third World countries producing raw materials have in recent years united in the economic sphere in the struggle against the superpowers' exploitation and plunder by supporting and assisting one another. Peru has nationalized the assets of US-financed international petroleum companies and a copper company which previously controlled 35 percent of Peru's minerals. Venezuela nationalized national gas prior to taking over in February 1974 two oil concessions. It planned to nationalize oil before 1983. Mexico and other countries have taken steps to recover oil and sulfur operations. At the International Cocoa Conference held in London in March 1974, Brazil, Ghana, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon and other cocoa producing countries brushed aside the obstructions of consuming countries and proposed a price rise of 45 percent. This was a tit-for-tat struggle against imperialism and social imperialism which had done everything possible to force down the prices of raw materials and increase the prices of manufactured goods.

The struggle over oil tells the peoples of Third World countries that to break down imperialist monopoly they must unite and rely on the tremendous power generated by unity. Panama and six other Latin American nations took joint action in March 1974 and formed the Union of Banana

Exporting Countries in a joint move to maintain the prices of bananas. Guyana, Jamaica and other countries producing bauxite likewise formed with Guinea and Sierra Leone an International Bauxite Association for the avowed purpose of upholding national interests and safeguarding the prices of raw materials. Within one year seven organizations of countries exporting raw materials such as bauxite, iron, mercury and sugar with the participation of 42 member nations were set up in the Third World. This nearly equalled all the membership of organizations of countries exporting raw materials developed in the past decade. At a UN Special Session on Raw Materials held in April 1974, many delegates of Third World countries with a rare demonstration of valor sternly exposed and castigated imperialism and particularly the exploitation and plunder by the superpowers. They sharply repudiated the USSR and the US, the two superpowers, for having deliberately undermined the internal solidarity of the Third World and for having driven a wedge between the Second World and the Third World. The conference adopted the "Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order" and a "Program of Action."

Influenced and spurred by the oil struggle, Third World countries have on the basis of further consolidating political independence safeguarded national sovereignty, defended natural resources and developed national economies. This emerging just struggle has promoted a situation more and more favorable to the people of the world and unfavorable to imperialism and social imperialism. The latter's domains have steadily shrunk and are no longer able to dominate the world. This is an inevitable course of history. Marxists have long held the view that in the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples of the world have access to tremendous potentialities. They make up the vast majority of the world population and have suffered most. They are bound to give play to their tremendous revolutionary role in the cause of uprooting imperialism. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, when the opportunists were praising "peace in society," Lenin was profoundly encouraged by the new fountainhead heralding the emergence in Asia of the national liberation movement. He viewed the world as being "in the era of the raging storm which in turn affects Europe." In the past half century, the revolutionary situation of the world has developed in giant strides. The formation and growth of the Third World has demonstrated that countries want independence, nations want emancipation and people want revolution, this being an irresistible historical tide. As a developing socialist state, China likewise belongs to the Third World. An identical mission and the need for struggle have united us with the developing countries.
As long as the people of the world are united, remaining undaunted in the face of force and pressures and persisting in struggle, they will certainly be able to bury colonialism and imperialism and bury the hegemonism of the superpowers to usher in a completely new world.

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On Confucian Persecution of Women in History

by

Sun Lo-ying (孙乐英) and Lu Li-fen (陆丽芬)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an [Study and Criticism], No. 1, January 10, 1975)

In Chinese history Confucianism had long murdered and persecuted the masses of the people, particularly women. At the present stage of deepening the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius, further repudiating Confucian persecution of women is fraught with immense significance in eliminating the remaining pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius on the question of women and in breaking completely with old and traditional concepts.

Persecution of women and inequality between the sexes has been a social product since the advent of the system of private ownership and division of classes in the human society. In primitive society women and men alike took part in productive labor, sharing the fruit of labor and their status being one of equality. In matrichal society in which clannish affairs were handled by women, "the people were only aware of the mothers and not the fathers." This indicated that women's social status was then very high. The myth about the legendary Nü-wa in high antiquity mending heaven with stones demonstrated popular respect for women. However, with further development of the productive forces and followed by the inception of the system of private ownership and the practice of monogamy, the slave society made its debut. In slave society the slaves must subordinate themselves completely and wholly to the slave owners. This inequality between classes, as reflected in the relations between the sexes, means inequality between men and women. Marx rightly pointed out: "At its inception the modern family embodied not only the slave system but also serfdom." In the family the husband's position was far superior to that of the wife, resulting in the degradation and enslavement of the latter. "Apart from bearing children, the wife is no better than the head maid."

As the philosophy of the slave-owning class during the transition of the slave system to the feudal system in China, Confucianism played the role of defending and upholding the collapsing system of slavery by setting forth ethical criteria for the persecution of women. These were later refined and perfected in feudal society by Confucianists in succeeding generations, becoming the spiritual yoke for the vast numbers of women. History has proved that the degradation of women in China was in direct proportion to the exaltation of Confucianism.

As the venerable master of the Confucianists, Confucius was the arch culprit in the persecution of women. To restore the slave system of the Western Chou, he did his best to push the reactionary political line of "restraining oneself and returning to propriety," spreading such fallacy as the superiority of men over women. During the Warring States period

Mencius likewise distinguished men from women, declaring that "man and woman should be set apart." These fallacies had served as the reactionary theoretical basis for Confucianists in succeeding generations to persecute women. As the Warring States period was marked by social upheavals during which the newly rising landlord class was gradually supplanting the declining slave-owning class, Confucius' reactionary argument in favor of persecuting women was largely brushed aside by the public and its influence on society was indeed very limited. Chou-li /Chou ritual/ contains accounts of meetings in the month following the advent of spring between unmarried men and women enamored of each other.

In feudal society the Confucian ethical rulings in respect of women became crystallized in feudal conventions following the glorification of Confucianism. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Political power, clan power, religious power and husband's power encompassed the philosophy and institution of the feudal patriarchy, serving as four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants."

Despite the introduction of the systematized feudal institution by the Han Confucianists, the latter were not popular at the time. The Han rulers from Kao-tsu to Emperor Wu all espoused the Legalist line and there was no strict distinction between men and women in respect of their social status. Women were permitted to marry again or married those of their choice. Cho Wen-chun of Szechwan, for instance, was a widow living in the Western Han period. After having eloped with Ssuma Hsiang-ju against her father's wish, the couple later returned to Chengtu to sell wine in the street. Hadn't they played a practical joke on Confucius? Pan Chao, who lived in the Latter Han, was the younger sister of Pan Ku, compiler of Han Shu (汉书, History of Han). She was summoned to court by Emperor Ho of Han to compile the earliest known work on rules of conduct for women that was fully in accord with feudal conventions. Nevertheless, widows marrying again were not condemned in the last year of the Han period when Tsai Wen-chi, a widowed daughter of Tsai Yung, a prominent scholar of the San Kuo /Three Kingdoms/ period, remarried through arrangements made by Ts'ao Ts'ao. She was even mentioned in official historical archives, indicating that there was no hard and fast rule against widows remarrying. In the imperial court at that time the practice of "well-matched matrimonial arrangements" was not strictly observed. Emperor Wu of Han, for example, married a slave who performed dances at court. His elder sister, Princess P'ingyang, was married to a general from a slave family. Liu Hsiu, first emperor of the Latter Han, was the moving force behind his widowed elder sister's remarriage plans. Although he was unsuccessful as a match-maker because the other party was reluctant to divorce his wife, the remarriage intentions of a widowed princess of the Han court during the ascending stage of Confucianism indicated that Confucian domination of women was far from rigid.

Since Confucius was conferred the exalted title of "King Wen-hsüan" during the T'ang period Confucianism had been elevated to frightening proportions. In the wake of the practice of feudal rulers to revere

Confucius and applaud the Confucianists, persecution of women was intensified. Concubinage was tolerated while courtesans began to thrive. This severely undermined women both physically and mentally. To advocate "masculine superiority and feminine inferiority," Confucianists talked about "having a son as fulfillment of a primary filial duty." Newly born female babies were referred to in derogatory terms such as "tile" or "mouse" and they were sometimes drowned the moment they were born.

The oppressive nature is inherent in the feudal ethics while the Confucianists are no better than a group of utterly hypocritical and shameful double-dealers. On the one hand, they advocate "distinctions between men and women" and "lifelong chastity" for women; on the other, they fool around with prostitutes and indulge in concubinage and other orgies and vice. Han Yü who lived in the T'ang period, for instance, was a prominent Confucianist and pretender. He excelled in writing obituaries for officialdom in laudatory terms and spent his earnings on courtesans. Imperial debaucheries at that time knew no bounds. Emperor Sui-yang, it is alleged, kept 3,000 concubines, with imperial concubines in succeeding dynasties numbering more than 4,000-5,000. The imperial palace was therefore an epitome of the corrupt and degenerate life of the landlord class as a whole. T'ang poet Pai Chu-i once lamented: "Selected at 16 as an imperial concubine in the last year of Hsüan-tsung's reign, she was now 60." As far as the imperial concubines were concerned, the palace was their prison, a living hell. In feudal society the estates of landlords, big and small, were in fact miniature imperial palaces, where the landowners regaled themselves on choice food served, both literally and figuratively, by the daughters of peasants. The farmstead of Liu Wen-tsai, a big landlord in Szechwan, is living proof. Compared with the Sung period, however, the women of the T'ang Dynasty did enjoy a certain amount of freedom. When Wu Tse-t'ien became emperor she was strongly critical of the Confucian practice of stressing masculine authority. Lu Hsün once said, "When Wu Tse-t'ien was emperor who dared to say anything like 'masculine superiority and feminine inferiority'?" According to accounts carried in Hsin T'ang Shu (新唐书, New records of T'ang), as many as 33 princesses alone were remarried, Princess T'ai-p'ing, Wu Tse-t'ien's daughter, being one of them. And so was Han Yü's daughter, without anything like Han Yü disowning his own daughter because of a second marriage having taken place in his own family. All this shows that society at that time permitted women to marry for the second time.

The Sung Dynasty marked the period which saw the decline of China's feudal society. To maintain their tottering domination, the reactionary ruling classes did their best to elevate and strengthen the position of Confucianism and establish the teachings of the Ch'eng-Chu school of reason as the orthodox philosophy of the state. On the question of women, they frantically advocated the idea of chastity. Nevertheless, this had not occurred without having gone through a course of development. During Sung Jen-tsung's reign in the early Sung period Fan Ch'ung-yen permitted widows to remarry because his mother also married for the second time. When his son died he did not force his daughter-in-law to keep her marriage vows in her widowhood. Instead, he married her off to one of

his disciples. Legalist Wang An-shih likewise took no heed of the Confucian preachings about chastity and he himself chose a second husband for his daughter-in-law. However, with the gradual ascent of the rationalistic philosophers Confucius was accorded a more exalted status. This in turn reinforced the argument in favor of chastity. Sung philosophers like Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi did what they could to promote the prime importance of chastity. This exactly served as a pliant knife with which the reactionary rulers persecuted women without betraying their sinister intentions. As Lu Hsün rightly pointed out: "Chastity was not advocated from the Han to the T'ang. It was brought up during the Sung Dynasty when public sentiment was waning and the empire on the verge of collapsing." That is why the more the reactionary ruling classes are on their way down, the more they will trumpet the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. This is true with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique in Moscow and the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang on Taiwan. Since the Sung and the Ming the reactionary ruling classes have erected a large number of arches and tablets throughout the country as tribute to chastity, with imperial exhortations that those who passed the arches with the tablets should show token respect to women who had refrained from acts that were not sanctioned by marriage laws. This demonstration of seeming respect was in fact designed to applaud women with the object of "killing" them. All the chastity tablets that had been set up served merely as ropes drawn tightly around women's necks. When their husbands were alive, the wives must remain chaste and subordinate themselves to their husbands. They could not remarry upon their husbands' demise. In some cases they had to die with their husbands. As Engels rightly pointed out: "The wife is under the absolute sway of the husband; and even if she is beaten to death he merely exercises his right." The Scholars (儒林外史), an early Ch'ing novel, recounts the story of a chaste woman who took her own life in order to be buried with her husband. The husband of the daughter of a Confucian scholar, the story goes, died of illness not long after their marriage. Devoted as he was to the Confucian teachings of the virtues of chastity, the scholar urged his daughter to stop taking any food so she could be buried with her husband. Eventually she died of starvation. This so pleased the scholar that he broke into laughter and praised her for having died well. Other Confucian scholars paid respects to her at her funeral and applauded the scholar for having "such a fine daughter that exemplifies moral virtue."

Just as invisible fetters are stronger than visible ones, Confucianism is more spiritually than physically harmful to women. In feudal society quite a few women had been so mentally exposed to the pernicious influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius that they were often liable to fall prey to old conventions. During the Five Dynasties a widow on her way home from her husband's burial ran into a quarrel with some people in a tavern. Finding that someone had pushed her arm, she immediately grabbed a knife and chopped off her arm. When asked why she had done such a foolish thing, she replied: "If this was not cut off I would have felt that I had been indecently molested by a man." No wonder Tai Chen of the Ch'ing period angrily pointed out:

"Putting a person to death through law, people would pity him, but killing people by reasoning, who would take pity on him?" Arches in recognition of chastity were built on stacks of bones of women in succeeding generations. They bear witness to the untold grievances of Chinese women through the centuries and Confucian persecution of women in history.

Where there is oppression there is resistance. The course of Confucian persecution of women therefore means the course of the fierce struggles waged by the vast numbers of working women against Confucian persecution. The working women have long been an immense revolutionary force. No great movement of the oppressed has taken place in the history of mankind without the participation of the toiling women. In feudal society the struggles of the laboring women against Confucian persecution were closely linked with peasant uprisings, being an important component part of peasant struggles. In hundreds of peasant risings that occurred in Chinese history none had not involved the working women who had suffered most from exploitation and oppression. The Ch'ihmei Uprising which took place during the Western Han period began with the peasant uprising led by a woman named Lu-nu. A peasant force which rose in the last year of the Sui was led by Li Wen-hsiang and his mother. Wherever they went they burned all the Confucian Classics they could find, signaling a big mopping-up operation against Confucianism. In the early T'ang period a woman named Ch'en Shih-chen and calling herself Emperor Wen-chia led a peasant uprising in Chekiang, serving as a resounding rebuttal to the notion upholding masculine superiority and the "divine right of the ruler." In the peasant uprising led by Fang La which occurred in the last year of the Northern Sung, his sister Fang Pai-hua was an important general in the force. She later became a marshal. In another uprising which erupted in Shantung in the last year of the Southern Sung, the Red Coat Army led by Yang Miao-chen and his sister overran Ch'ü-fo and burned down the Confucian temple there, sending a descendant of Confucius scurrying for his life. During the Ming period a woman named T'ang Sai-erh led a peasant uprising in Shantung. Her invincible force, according to an early Ch'ing narrative, was described as most harassing to the Ming ruler. In modern times more Chinese women joined the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo revolution, with women generals and women officers battling against the enemy on the frontlines and defeating the Ch'ing army on numerous occasions. The T'ai-p'ing army advocated equality between the sexes, banned prostitution and the practice of binding feet, prohibited arranged marriages. This struck telling blows at the spiritual shackles imposed by Confucianism.

Inequality between the sexes was practiced in feudal society; it is still practiced in the capitalist society, where everything is identified as commodity. The bourgeoisie has torn off the veil of paternalism over the family relationship in feudal society and turned this relationship into something relating to nothing but money. Since the Chinese bourgeoisie has countless political and economic ties with the feudal forces, they have not and could not possibly oppose feudal culture. Bourgeois culture and ideology has long been contaminated by feudal toxin that it is powerless to really solve the question of inequality

between the sexes. Real equality between the sexes can only be achieved through the proletarian revolution. The proletariat-led new democratic revolution and socialist revolution have brought radical changes to China's social system and this has truly emancipated the vast numbers of working women. Their wisdom and abilities, their revolutionary enthusiasm have been brought into full play. Chairman Mao has rightly pointed out: "Time has changed making no difference between men and women. What men comrades can do women comrades can also handle." Both women and men comrades have now participated in the practice of the three great revolutionary struggles. From far and near, from the uplands to the seas and from leaders to the masses, women in their different stations have played the role of propping up half the sky.

Although women of China have achieved political and economic emancipation made possible by the great victory won during the great proletarian cultural revolution, class struggle still exists while the struggle in the ideological sphere against the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and against traditional concepts is still not over yet. The undesirable practice of asking for bethrothal gifts and giving wedding feasts has continued to prevail among certain people. This is one instance. Therefore, repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and castigating old and traditional concepts on the question of women is a long-term fighting task. Whether they are men or women comrades they should all rid their minds of the reactionary influence of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. As far back as 36 years before, Chairman Mao issued this call: "We must struggle against the view that holds the women's movement in contempt because they fail to perceive the role of women and ignore women's great strength in the revolution." We must therefore closely link the question of women with the class and line struggles and grasp this as an important matter in the continued deepening of the criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius.

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Nominalists Were An Ally of Legalists

- A tentative discussion of Kungsun Lung's discourse on "a white horse is not a horse"

by

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(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 1, January 10, 1975)

Kungsun Lung (公孙龙), one of the chief exponents of the School of Names or Nominalists (名家),* lived in the state of Chao in the last years of the Warring States period (about 320-250 B.C.). The Nominalists or Dialecticians specialized in the definition of names in respect of actual facts, such as explaining the relationship between universal concepts and actual facts. Kungsun Lung's Discourse on the White Horse ("A White Horse Is Not a Horse") is included in his extant work Kungsun Lung Tzu (公孙龙子). Previously he was looked upon as a sophist and his discourse on White Horse in particular was branded as "ignominious" sophistry. Let us now examine his discourse to see if his reasoning was deceptively subtle.

"White Horse" Is About the Relationship between "General" and "Particular"

The Nominalists were known as Dialecticians (Chuang Tzu: Chapter on T'ien-hsia /the Empire/ 天下篇) during the Warring States period. In this context, Dialecticians refer to those who are skilled in discussion and reasoning by dialogue as a method of intellectual investigation, such as the ancient Greeks who were practicing dialecticians.

Kungsun Lung's discourse on White Horse attempts to delve into the relationship between common and individual features by citing examples that distinguish the "general" from the "particular." What is called a "horse" is a general term applicable to all types of horses such as big horses, ponies, stallions and mares. This general term as applied to horses of different sizes forms a concept in the abstract sense of the term for horses of different types. Regarding concept, Chairman Mao has

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* Translator's Note: They refer to exponents of a theory that there is no universal essence in reality and that the mind can frame no single concept or image corresponding to any universal or general term. This differentiation of terms, without regard for actual facts, had previously been criticized as "specializing in the definition of names while losing sight of human feelings."

taught: "What is known as concept no longer denotes what appears as facts or the different aspects of things or their external relationship but goes deeper into the essence of things, their totality and their internal relationship." This teaching of Chairman Mao's tells us that concept is formed on the basis of objective things but is not the same as objectively observed concrete things. Therefore, the general term for "horse" does not refer to a particular horse. In this sense, Kungsun Lung's White Horse is not something deceptively subtle by way of reasoning. Let's see what White Horse says:

"Horse denotes form; white denotes color. What denotes color does not denote form. Therefore it is said, a white horse is not a horse."

The horse referred to here relates to a general category or group (as whiteness is related to all white things), that is, with reference to form. It is a general term for horses, without specifying a particular horse with a particular form. Since horses are the same if they are not specified, they will do for a horse, but not for a white horse. Hence it should be clear that a white horse is not a horse. It is thus clear that what Kungsun Lung refers to in White Horse denotes the question of relationship between the "general" and the "particular," or the relationship between common and individual features. He perceived the difference and not similarity between the "general" and the "particular." In another chapter of his work, Discourse on Things and Their Attributes, it is said: "Things consist of nothing but their attributes. But attributes are not attributes in and of themselves." He meant that "things" possess common features, though they are different from individual features. In the same chapter it is also said: "Attributes are that which do not exist on earth; things are that which do exist on earth." What he meant is quite clear, indicating that common features are not concrete things and therefore cannot be perceived, but "things" refers to something concrete. When Kungsun Lung was asked: "If a horse with color is considered not a horse, then there will be no horses on earth, as there are no colorless horses on earth! Is this possible?" He replied, "Horses, of course, have color. Therefore there are white horses. If horses had no color, there would be merely horses. How could we specify white horses?" He put it in this way as an admission of the existence of white horses. He went on: "But a white horse is not a horse. A white horse is horse united with whiteness, or whiteness united with horse. Therefore, it is said, a white horse is not a horse." He viewed "whiteness" and "horse" as two distinct concepts and the union of the two could hardly be considered a horse. It is quite clear that he was arguing about the difference between a white horse specified as such and a horse held to be a horse, though his way of reasoning appeared quite strange. But the point he made is clear. Thus we can understand that White Horse deals with the question of relationship between concept and actual facts, that is, the relationship between common and individual features that embodies dialectical ideas. Dialecticians in ancient and modern times were often mistaken for sophists or deliberately misrepresented as people indulging in deceptively subtle reasoning. For instance, views such as the "existence and non-existence of all things" and "disorder is both a good

and a bad thing" were at the outset regarded as strange talk and sophistry. Dialectical-minded scholars of ancient times, like prominent Legalist Teng Hsi of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods was branded as a "dubious" sophist by succeeding generations of the reactionary ruling classes. The reason is that dialectics originated from sophistry and from those who lacked knowledge of dialectics. The main reason, however, is that the reactionary ruling classes in succeeding generations became so afraid of dialectics (idealist dialectics not excepted) that they tended to reject dialectics, even taking to distorting and slandering dialectics as sophistry.

Dialectics and sophistry are two distinct things and one should not be mixed up with the other. Because of class limitations of historical characters, dialectics as was expounded in ancient times was not exhaustive and was often idealist in substance. Kungsun Lung lived in the last years of the Warring States and therefore he was no exception. His White Horse distinguishes the "general" from the "particular" but fails to bring out the relationship between the two concepts. Chairman Mao has taught: "This kind of identity, being embodied in all individuality, does not exist without individuality. Could there be any identity if all that is individualistic is eliminated?" Lenin also said, "The particular exists with the general, which can only exist within and through the particular." There are differences as well as relationship between the "general" and the "particular," but Kungsun Lung stressed the differences while losing sight of the relationship, thereby making his observations to a very large extent one-sided. Since the Nominalists served as the representatives of the newly rising landlord class, in the last analysis they were subjected to the limitations of that class.

Nominalists As An Ally of Legalists

Kungsun Lung wrote White Horse and other discourses for the purpose of clarifying the relationship between concept and actual facts. One chapter from his work Kungsun Lung Tzu clearly identified him with attempts to point out the relationship between substance and the attributes of things so as to achieve the political objective of bringing order to the empire.

What the Nominalists were concerned with boils down to the view that names should change following changes in the attributes of things. This means, according to the discourse on names and attributes in Kungsun Lung Tzu: "That there are no attributes is due to the fact that things have their respective names and are not just attributes. To call them attributes when they are not is to claim all are attributes. It would be improper to take what are not all attributes as what are nothing but attributes." In Kungsun Lung's view, if the attributes of "names" have changed it would not be proper to hold on to the old "names." According to his reasoning, attributes are indeed not attributes in and of themselves, and it is only because they adhere to things that they become attributes. This embodies the essence of the logical reasoning of

Nominalists like Kungsun Lung, indicating that the Nominalists' approach to names and the attributes of things was in criticism of Confucianism. In the process of social change at the time, the ordering of the slave society was upset by developments such as "ministers assassinating rulers" and "sons murdering fathers." This inevitable trend in history was irresistible. The Confucianlists, however, took the stand of the declining slave-owning class and regarded this as "offending the superiors and rebellion." They insisted on "rectification of names" in a vain attempt to use "names" to "rectify" the "substance" and the attributes of things that had changed or were underoing changes. With the reactionary Confucian "rectification of names" approach in mind, the Legalists called for a fresh approach aimed at eliminating the traditional concepts of the slave system in accord with the changing circumstances. In other words, designation of "names" was to be based on the "substance" and the attributes of things that had changed so as to establish and consolidate a new feudal system. Among the Legalists who at the time had expressed their views on the question of "rectification of names" were Kuan Tzu, Shang Yang and Han Fei, who were all in favor of rewarding those who practiced what they professed to do and punishing those who did otherwise. This is how the Legalists struggled against the Confucianists on the issue relating to "rectification of names." On this question the Nominalists came forward as an ally of the Legalists. While the latter viewed the jumbled Confucian confusion in respect of the relationship between concept and facts as falsehood and perversion in a political sense, the former concentrated on exposing Confucian mixup and pretense. The views of both the Nominalists and Legalists on the question of names and realities, though expressed differently, meant the same thing. Looking at the main theme underlying Kungsun Lung's discourse on things and their attributes, it revolves around the argument that the names of things should change with the changes in objective reality. This viewpoint is fully in accord with a changing society, one that corresponds to the Legalist viewpoint on "changing things that follow changing times."

As has been stated above, the Confucian "rectification of names" was designed to uphold the slave system while the Legalist version was aimed at opposing the Confucian restoration and regression. Since the Nominalists argued against the slave system and its traditional concept and defended the rule of the landlord class on the side of the Legalists, they thus became an ally of the latter. The Legalists, however, represented advanced philosophy of society at that time. In facing the declining slave-owning class, they took an active part in the struggle in the political, economic and ideological spheres. They consequently gained and accumulated a wealth of experience in both theory and practice. The Nominalists on the other hand specialized in the definition of names, without regard for practice, often losing sight of the political line in their level of understanding. Therefore, in both theory and practice, the Nominalists fell far behind the Legalists. Nevertheless, the question of distinguishing names and analyzing their principles through a differentiation of terms, even without regard for actual facts, after all encompassed at the time an important aspect of the struggle that had been going on. Hence, any attempt to identify this sort of intellectual

activity as sophistry and a game of concepts can hardly be considered as a correct approach to the issue on the basis of the class relations which existed at that time.

Further clarifying the question concerning the relationship between concepts and actual facts in the present moment is still fraught with practical significance. Careerists and conspirators like Lin Piao and company have often taken advantage of revolutionary slogans to twist facts and turn them upside down so as to mislead and deceive the masses in an attempt to achieve their secretive objectives. We must therefore "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism." Let us make use of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung thought as a "microscope" and "telescope" and broaden, deepen and push in a sustained way the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius.

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